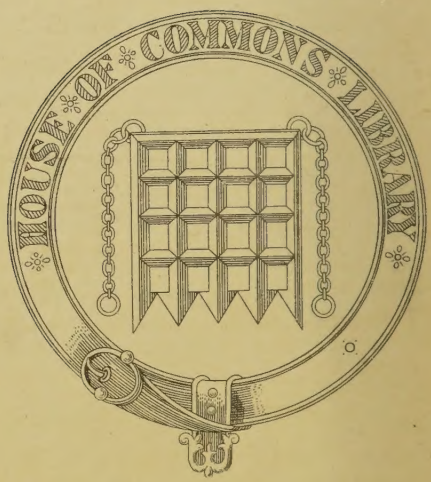
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THE RESCUE AND ACHIEVEMENT OF REFUGEE SCHOLARS

STUDIES IN SOCIAL LIFE I

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THE RESCUE AND ACHIEVEMENT OF REFUGEE SCHOLARS

THE STORY OF
DISPLACED SCHOLARS AND SCIENTISTS
1933-1952

by

NORMAN BENTWICH

MARTINUS NIJHOFF / THE HAGUE
1953

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PREFACE

This little book has been written at the suggestion of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning. That body was the successor of the Academic Assistance Council which was formed in 1933 by heads of British Universities and learned Societies to assist scholars and scientists and investigators "who, on grounds of religion, political opinion or race, were unable to carry on their work in their own country". They were, at the time of the formation of the Society, particularly, but not exclusively, refugees from Nazi oppression, and deprived of their academic posts on one of these grounds. But they soon embraced refugees from other tyrannies. The British example was followed by similar efforts in many countries. The National and International effort, initiated in 1933 on behalf of academic freedom, is still far from completed. For the persecution of free thought and research has become an endemic ill of our time, and calls for a continuous activity of the free Universities.

The major task, however, of saving for science and scholarship the victims of Nazi persecution has been accomplished, and most of the academic societies which were formed in the Thirties to take up the challenge have been dissolved. It seems opportune then to place on record this effort of cultural solidarity for the displaced scholars, and the contribution which has been made to the world's intellectual life by those who were rescued. It is a story to restore faith in humanity and in the fraternity of brains; a precious gleam of light in dark days of intellectual iron curtains.

I had a small part in the early struggle and rescue, when I was on the staff of the League of Nations High Commissioner for the Refugees from Germany. I have been concerned, too, with the gathering of a fraction of the displaced talents in the academic institutions of what was Mandated Palestine, and is

now the State of Israel. But this book could not have been written without the generous co-operation of a few men and women who have been the most active and devoted in the work of the British and other Societies. The records of the Academic Assistance Council and the Society for Protection of Science and Learning have been placed at my disposal, and also the records of three other bodies with similar purposes: the Jewish Professional Committee in London, the Comité International Pour le Placement des Intellectuels Réfugiés of Geneva, and the Notgemeinschaft Deutscher Wissenschaftler im Ausland, of Zuerich and London. What was more important, Mr. Walter Adams, the original Secretary of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning, Miss Esther Simpson, first his assistant, and then his successor in that office, and Miss I. J. Ursell, the latest Secretary, have given me constant help from their abundant knowledge and their lively memory, and have provided much of the raw material.

Lord Beveridge, the President of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning, and Professor A.V. Hill, the Chairman of the Committee of the Society, have been good enough to read my manuscript, and from their abundant knowledge to make corrections. Lord Beveridge has written a Note on the beginnings of the Academic Assistance Council, and Professor Hill an Epilogue. The editors of "Nature" have consented to the reproduction in Professor Hill's Epilogue of an article which appeared in that Paper in 1938. At the same time, I should make it clear that the book is my personal account, and in no way engages the responsibility of the Society for any of the statements or opinions expressed.

Dr Bing, the Deputy Director of the Warburg Institute, and Dr Demuth, former Director of the Notgemeinschaft, have given me help in the sections dealing with the part of their bodies in the rescue. For the sections about the activity of the Geneva International Committee and the International Refugee Organisation in the wartime and post-war rescue action I had the help of Madam F. Silberschein, the Secretary of the Committee, and Dr Citroen, formerly the Director of the Placement Division of the I.R.O. Professor Mirkine-Guetzevich has given me information about the "University in Exile" and the "Ecole Libre

des Hautes Etudes" in New York, and Dr P. Schwartz has given the story of the engagement of the German refugees in Turkey.

The American contribution to the effort, which is parallel with the British, has been recorded in a book by Dr Stephen Duggan and Miss Drury, "The Rescue of Science and Learning". I have frequently referred to it, but did not think it fitting to go over that ground again.

Lastly, my thanks are due to Miss Melita Alexander, who struggled with my notes and typed them.

NORMAN BENTWICH

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

by

the Rt. Hon. Lord Beveridge, K. C. B., F. B. A.

I am happy to introduce Professor Bentwich's story of persecution in the field of learning and science, and of the many movements set on foot for rescue from persecution. By way of introduction I add a brief notice of the beginnings of one of these movements, with which I was concerned in person — the Academic Assistance Council — later, the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning.

The Academic Assistance Council was invented during a week-end in May 1933 which I spent at Cambridge with George Trevelyan, later Master of Trinity. Passing an evening with fellow economists in a Vienna café during March I had heard read out from an evening paper the first list of dismissals of professors under the Hitler regime. We had realised at once that remedial action would be needed. With Professor Lionel Robbins, one of those who had sat in the Vienna café with me, I took immediate steps on return to London to start remedial action in the London School of Economics and Political Science, of which I was then Director. The action took the form of an Academic Freedom Fund, to which members of the School Staff contributed, by deduction from their salaries if they desired this.

But it was clear that much more than isolated action, institution by institution, was required. At Cambridge in May I found many in grave concern and anxious for action. Most happily I found the most distinguished of them all — Lord Rutherford — sufficiently concerned to be ready, in spite of orders from doctor and wife and of other occupations, to be

the figure-head of any movement we might establish. A statement to the Press was drafted rapidly, and signatures were obtained as fast as they could be asked for from men of distinction in every branch of learning. The statement is short enough to be given here in full:

ACADEMIC ASSISTANCE COUNCIL

"Many eminent scholars and men of science and University teachers of all grades and in all faculties are being obliged to relinquish their posts in the Universities of Germany.

The Universities of our own and other countries will, we hope, take whatever action they can to offer employment to these men and women, as teachers and investigators. But the financial resources of Universities are limited and are subject to claims for their normal development which cannot be ignored. If the information before us is correct, effective help from outside for more than a small fraction of the teachers now likely to be condemned to want and idleness will depend on the existence of large funds specifically devoted to this purpose. It seems clear also that some organisation will be needed to act as a centre of information and put the teachers concerned into touch with the institutions that can best help them.

We have formed ourselves accordingly into a provisional Council for these two purposes. We shall seek to raise a fund, to be used primarily, though not exclusively, in providing maintenance for displaced teachers and investigators, and finding them the chance to work in Universities and scientific institutions.

We shall place ourselves in communication both with Universities in this country and with organisations which are being formed for similar purposes in other countries, and we shall seek to provide a clearing house and centre of information for those who can take any kind of action directed to the same end. We welcome offers of co-operation from all quarters. We appeal for generous help from all who are concerned for academic freedom and the security of learning. We ask for means to prevent the waste of exceptional abilities exceptionally trained.

The issue raised at the moment is not a Jewish one alone;

many who have suffered or are threatened have no Jewish connection. The issue, though raised acutely at the moment in Germany, is not confined to that country. We should like to regard any funds entrusted to us as available for University teachers and investigators of whatever country who, on grounds of religion, political opinion or race, are unable to carry on their work in their own country.

The Royal Society have placed office accommodation at the disposal of the Council. Sir William Beveridge and Professor C.S. Gibson, F.R.S., are acting as Hon. Secretaries of the Council, and communications should be sent to them at the Royal Society, Burlington House, W. 1. An Executive Committee is being formed and the names of Trustees for the Fund will shortly be announced. In the meantime cheques can be sent to either of the Hon. Secretaries.

Our action implies no unfriendly feelings to the people of any country; it implies no judgment of forms of government or on any political issue between countries. Our only aims are the relief of suffering and the defence of learning and science".

Lascelles Abercrombie
S. Alexander
W. H. Beveridge
W. H. Bragg
Buckmaster
Cecil
Crawford and Balcarres
Winifred C. Cullis
H. A. L. Fisher
Margery Fry
C. S. Gibson
M. Greenwood
J. S. Haldane
A. V. Hill
George F. Hill
W. S. Holdsworth
F. Gowland Hopkins
A. E. Housman
A. D. Lindsay
Lytton
J. W. Mackail
Allen Mawer
Gilbert Murray
Eustace Percy
W. J. Pope
Robert S. Rait
Rayleigh
Charles Grant Robertson
Robert Robinson
Rutherford
Michael E. Sadler
Arthur Schuster
G. S. Sherrington
George Adam Smith
G. Elliott Smith
J. C. Stamp

J. C. Irvine
F. G. Kenyon
J. M. Keynes
J. J. Thomson
G. M. Trevelyan

May 22nd, 1933.

So the Academic Assistance Council was born, to hold its first meeting on June 1st 1933, to continue under a different name — as the Society for Protection of Science and Learning since 1937 — to the present day, with no substantial change of aim or spirit.

As the statement indicates, I was from the beginning one of the honorary secretaries of the Council, but my colleague, the late Professor C. S. Gibson, was, also from the beginning, the working honorary secretary. And very soon we needed a full-time secretary and were able to lure Walter Adams to do this work. From the beginning also the Council depended on and could obtain untiring service from distinguished men of science and learning, in examining needs and means of assisting their displaced fellows to find again the chance of using special knowledge and gifts.

The Academic Assistance Council represented one only of many different movements, arising spontaneously in many different countries, to meet the challenge of Nazi persecution in the field of learning and study. I have written here of the birth of this one movement, because of it alone had I direct personal knowledge, and I have spoken only of its beginning. The later story of the Council and the story of the many other movements are told in Professor Bentwich's pages.

Four general points may fitly be made in ending this Introduction.

The Academic Assistance Council was brought into being by Nazi persecution in Germany, and Germany provided numerically the bulk of those needing its help. The Council has in fact helped displaced academics of many countries, including Austria, Czecho-Slavakia, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Portugal and Spain. It had to rescue a second time a group of German academics who had found shelter at first in Soviet Russia, but were driven out again in 1937 by a wave of xenophobia.

The Academic Assistance Council, as it found the bulk of those needing its help in Germany, found the bulk of them in need because they had Jewish blood in them. But the Council itself was not Jewish in origin or interest. Very few of those who signed the appeal of May 1933 would have been tolerated or have found life tolerable in Nazi Germany; they would have been proscribed, however, not as "non-Aryans" but as men of incurable independence of mind.

The Academic Assistance Council raised and administered funds from which grants could be made to displaced academics in need. These grants were on a bare subsistence scale; £ 250 a year for a man and wife, and £ 182 a year for a man or woman without dependents. But making of these grants was the least part of the Council's work, as mere subsistence represented a small part of the need to be met. What the displaced academics needed was the chance to continue the kind of work on which they had specialised, in the kind of surroundings in which it could be done. The Council became a specialised employment exchange for displaced academics.

The Academic Assistance Council was a spontaneous growth of British individualism, not created by any existing organisation. But for all that it did in practice it depended on the help of existing organisations, in particular on the Universities and on the learned societies, with the Royal Society at their head. The displaced academics needed incomes, to keep body and soul together; this need the Council met on a Spartan scale. They needed even more the means of keeping their souls alive, by continuing to work among men of like interest. The hospitality of the Universities and the learned Societies was vital in meeting this need. To the Academic Assistance Council itself the Royal Society was a never-failing host and friend; housing the Council and all its staff for the first two years, providing rooms for meetings of all kinds as required, joining in many actions undertaken by the Council.

As the Academic Assistance Council was itself a spontaneous product of British individualism, so its work depended on the thought and time freely given to it by scientists and scholars. To myself, as one outside, somewhat unwillingly outside, the fold of the natural sciences, one of the most profound impressions

derived from working in the Council was of the knowledge which natural scientists in Britain possessed of the work and worth of their colleagues in all other countries. Natural science at least was truly international, without frontiers.

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Chapter I

CRISIS IN THE GERMAN UNIVERSITIES 1933

On January 30th, 1933, Hitler came to power as Chancellor of the German Reich. At once he proceeded to carry through the National Socialist Revolution which aimed at a totalitarian racial state. No person who was not of "Aryan" race, or who had held political opinions contrary to those of the ruling National Socialist party, could hold public office. The universities and research institutes in Germany were, for the most part, state bodies; and their Professors, lecturers and research workers were state officials, subject to the purge decrees. The law for the "Cleansing of the Civil Service" 1933, laid down: — "Officials who are not of Aryan origin are to be dismissed. Honorary officials are to be relieved of all official connections." An exception was made in the first place for officials who were appointed before August 1914, or who fought in the front line for Germany or her Allies during the World War, or whose fathers or sons fell in the war. But later legislation abolished those exceptions.

Besides the "Non-Aryans", "Officials whose previous political activities do not offer the assurance that they will invariably and unreservedly support the National State may be dismissed. Their salary will be paid to them for a period of three months after dismissal. Thereafter they will receive three-quarters of their pension".

The application of the Civil Service law in the universities resulted in the dismissal of over 1200 scholars and scientists within the next two years; most of them in the first year of the Nazi regime. Many were without any right to pension; most, in the new conditions of Germany, were unable to obtain alternative employment. Those who had been dismissed for political

reasons found themselves under a government opposed to their deepest convictions; those who were Jews or of Jewish origin in whole or in part — "Non-Aryans", as they were called — found themselves members of a minority which was socially ostracised; and their children were faced with a future of open or indirect persecution.

It was an intolerable outrage for the Nazi mind that Jews, who were barely one per cent of the German population, filled one eighth part of the professorial chairs in the German universities and had won a quarter of the Nobel Prizes awarded to Germans. It was another outrage that German universities had attracted a number of scholars and scientists of Jewish origin from the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. It is said that Professor Planck, the Nobel prize-winner physicist, and the venerable President of the Kaiser Wilhelm Society for the Advancement of Science, personally petitioned Hitler to stop the dismissal of scientists on racial and political grounds, stressing the importance of the physical sciences for the national welfare. And Hitler replied: "Our national policies will not be revoked or modified, even for scientists. If the dismissal of Jewish scientists means the annihilation of contemporary German science, we shall do without science for a few years" *.

The academic society of Germany offered little resistance to the Nazi policy. A few men of stout heart, like Professor Max von Laue of Göttingen University, who opposed it, were dismissed. But there was no collective resistance and no organised movement to help those who were dismissed. The displaced scholars had to look outside Germany for their future.

The exile of academic teachers for political non-conformity had been a feature both of the Russian Bolshevik revolution and of the Fascist revolution in Italy. Some hundreds of scholars and scientists, among them men of outstanding reputation, had been forced to leave their countries. The migration, however, was not on a scale comparable with that which followed the Nazi dismissal. The number of universities in Germany was much greater, and a large element in them was classified by the Nazis as "Non-Aryan".

In 1933 and 1934, 650 emigrated from Germany. They in-

* "The German Universities and National Socialism", by E. Y. Hartshorne, p. 111.

cluded half a dozen Nobel Prize winners, scientists of international reputation, professors of every discipline, as well as a large number of younger men and women who were Privat-Dozents (lecturers) and assistants. The greatest of all, Professor Albert Einstein, who was at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute, was among the first forced to leave the country. His was a double offence. He was a Jew, and his Theory of Relativity was opposed to German or "Aryan" physics, "the physics of the Nordic Species of Man". Einstein was the bogey of the Nazi physicists. The Nazi orthodox opinion was illuminatingly expressed by Professor Lenard, who in the early years of the regime published a general Treatise on Physics:

"Jewish Science soon found many industrious interpreters of non-Jewish or partially Jewish blood. One may summarise them all by calling to mind the probably pure-blooded Jew, Albert Einstein. His Theories of Relativity seek to revolutionise and dominate the whole of Physics. In fact, these theories are now "down and out". They were never even intended to be true. The Jew is strikingly lacking in appreciation of Truth, beyond his merely apparent agreement with the outworn Truth which is independent of human thought, in contrast to the Will to Truth, no less ungovernable than cautious, of the Aryan researcher."

"It appears to the Jew that Truth, Reality, are nothing special, no different from Untruth, but just on a par with any one of the many diverse manners of thought available at a given time. His consequent complete unfitness for Scientific Research is obvious, although this is concealed by arithmetical juggling ... The hasty characteristics of the Jewish spirit, to push forward with unproved ideas, has spread like a plague ... The great Aryan researchers, however, hesitated to publish uncertainties. They turned rather to examine quietly their new ideas, to bring Reality to the test, to put forward no conjectures but ascertained facts. Thus emerged publications of rich new fact-content, which made a landmark at each step. But in Jewish Physics, each conjecture that does not turn out to be a complete failure is hailed as a landmark. The Aryan way is to be silent as to such estimates .... The alien spirit is paralysing. All that is alien in race is detrimental to the German people."

A similar attack was made on Jewish mathematicians by the students. The leader of the German student body at Heidel-

berg University, in a Journal, "German Mathematics", argued that mathematics must be rooted in the Racial idea: "The result of the former enormous influence of the Jews in Mathematics is demonstrated on the one hand by the choice, development and form of the problems raised, and on the other hand by the manifold forms of intellectual opposition to National Socialism." *

The purge knew no respect of persons, if they were Jews. The Jewish head of the Chemistry section of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute, Professor Fritz Haber, who had directed it for 22 years, was compelled to resign. Yet it was his scientific discovery of the process of obtaining combined nitrogen from the air which had enabled Germany to save herself during the first years of the World War. In his farewell letter to his staff he wrote: "The Kaiser Wilhelm Institute under my leadership has striven for 22 years to serve mankind in peace and the Fatherland in war. So far as I can judge the result, it has been favourable, and has brought things of value both to science and the defence of our land." Another Nobel Prizeman, Professor James Franck, the physicist of Göttingen, who as a front-line soldier was exempted from dismissal by the Nazi decree, refused to remain and left Germany. Of the 1200 who were immediately dismissed the largest classes were in the departments of medicine: — 412; in Social Sciences, 173, Law 132, Physics 106, Philology 95, Chemistry 86, and Technology 85. Besides the dismissal of the 1200, a number of university teachers, who were not regarded as sufficiently ardent followers of the Nazi regime, were transferred from their posts to inferior universities and schools. Outstanding men were relegated, and the "Civitas Academica" was destroyed.

What brought about the abject surrender of the German universities to the totalitarian State, so that they gave up with scarce any struggle the primary privilege of the freedom of teaching and the search for truth? Weakness was inherent in the very structure of the German universities, which, from their foundation, had been controlled by the State. Although in the 19th century German science and scholarship were admired by all the world, the universities had never enjoyed the full freedom

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* Quoted in "The Spirit of the German Universities" by L. G. Montefiore, 1935.

and independence of the universities in England and other countries. Their attachment to the State was not so serious a handicap when Germany was divided into many kingdoms and dukedoms and principates, for a scholar rejected in one could turn to another academy. It became a crippling fetter when, in the latter part of the 19th century, the Central State of the Reich imposed its control.

In the early part of that century two great minds of Germany, Goethe and Humboldt, preached a new humanism; the cultivation of human individuality should be the supreme aim of education. And when Humboldt became Secretary of Education in Prussia, and established the University of Berlin in 1810, he had that broad purpose. But his impulse did not last long, and the emphasis on research in the German universities, which was from one aspect a great contribution to knowledge, involved from another a weakening of the academic stand for freedom of thought in the national life. In Germany more than elsewhere the scientists and scholars, absorbed in pure research, were divorced from the general life and were remote from the students. Humanism itself was closely identified with the exact study of Greek and Roman thought, and not with humanity in the broad sense.

The expulsion of Professors from a university for political reasons was a common feature of German academic life throughout the century. The great Roman historian, Theodor Mommsen, was deprived of his chair because of his political ideas. And the scholars were not organised corporately to withstand State pressure, and to fight unflinchingly for truth against propaganda.

The ground then was prepared for the Nazi subjugation of learning. Before they came to power, the Nazi leaders had fomented violent hostility in the young generation to the "subversive" thought of the Jewish and "non-Aryan" influences in the German universities. Under the Weimar Republic continuous battle was waged between the students and the professors. A large part of the student body was National Socialist, and its slogan was: "For the State against the Professors". The race theory and the other ideologies of National Socialism implied a hatred of Humanism, internationalism and intellectual freedom.

As soon as the Nazis had established their control over the

State, they took effective steps to complete the subservience of the intellectual society. The Governing Body of the University had hitherto been composed of the regular or full Professors who were officials of the State and gathered in the Senate. The Rector, who was the President of the Senate and responsible for the administration and development of his university, had hitherto been elected by the Senate. In the new dispensation the Rector was appointed by the Minister of the Reich, and in accordance with Nazi principles was the leader (Führer) of the University, and a permanent official so long as he conformed with the orders of the government. The Senate too was no longer elected by the Faculties. Its members were nominated by the Rector. Exercising the functions of a "Führer", the Rector had also the right of removal from the Senate. So the Senate became a body of yes-men, and its advisory functions were formal.

Drastic changes were made also in the student body. In the first place the number of students in the German universities was reduced by nearly half. That might not have been so detrimental, but the students were admitted for their reliability towards the Party. All who were doubtful or suspected of liberal ideas were excluded. The leadership principle was thoroughly applied in the student body. The head of the Students Association was nominated by the Minister of the Reich, and he in turn nominated his advisory body. The position was put in an article in the "Universities Review" of April 1936 by Professor A. V. Hill, Sir F. Gowland Hopkins, President of the Royal Society, and Sir Frederic Kenyon, Director of the British Museum:

"The organisation of University life (in Nazi Germany) has come to resemble that of an army. Uniformity and obedience are the note. Even the topics of lectures are controlled. Theory in general is held of little worth. Technical studies are more highly prized than ever. Applied science may mean lethal gases and aeroplane design. Nothing is less likely to produce an atmosphere of independent exposition and research .... Those who are not Nazis by conviction or practice live in a state of fear and uncertainty in which good teaching and effective research are alike impossible. A German university under the new regime is as to the one part a regiment preparing for war, as to the other an intellectual concentration camp." The public burning

in April, 1933, of any books which were not in conformity with Nazi ideas was a vivid symbol of the new order.

An example of how life was made impossible for "Aryan" professors who offended the party creed is afforded by Professor Paul Kahle, the holder of the chair of Semitics at the University of Bonn. He had been a pastor of the Evangelical Church, and was one of the world authorities on the Hebrew text of the Bible. He did not bend the knee to the racial Baal and cut his Jewish colleagues. In November 1938, when the Nazis carried out a 'pogrom' on the Jewish population throughout Germany — in professed reprisal for the assassination in Paris of a Nazi diplomat by a frenzied Jewish exile, — the wife and young son of Professor Kahle helped to save a Jewish friend in Bonn from a Nazi mob which had set fire to his house. Their action was reported to the party, and Professor Kahle was "warned" by the Rector of Bonn University. A Nazi newspaper published an article denouncing his wife and son as traitors to the nation. The police broke into his house at night to carry out a search. The boy, who was a student at the University, was brought before a tribunal of honour; his professors refused to help him; he was dismissed from the University, and refused admission to any other. Professor Kahle himself was unable to continue his work, and advised, and then forced, to retire. The wife and son escaped from Germany, first to Holland, and then to England, hoping in that way to make it possible for the rest of the family to live in Germany. But the persecution continued, and Kahle and his three other sons came to England in 1939, befriended by English colleagues, and there stayed throughout the war. He, an "enemy alien", was able in the tranquillity of Oxford to continue his researches, and in the very crisis of the war, in the winter of 1941, was appointed to give a course of lectures before the British Academy on an abstruse theme of Hebrew and Rabbinical scholarship.

At the celebration in 1934 of the 350th year of the University of Heidelberg, the National Socialist Minister of Education delivered a speech in which he exalted the "racial instinct" over the pursuit of scientific truth. The days of the supremacy of intellect, he assured the representatives of the Universities, were over.

The double spiritual evil of Nazi tyranny was the suppression of truth and the propagation of falsehood. Hitler's Germany was guilty of deadly sins against Western civilisation: tyranny, intolerance, violation of conscience, cruelty. From 1933, the lights of the humanities and science were going out in one country after the other of Central Europe. But they were rekindled in the countries of the rest of the world.

Chapter II

FIRST EFFORTS OF RESCUE: 1933–1938

The forced migration of the scholars and scientists from the German universities, more than any other outrage of the Nazis, roused the free peoples to an understanding of the issues at stake. The barbarities of concentration camps, into which tens of thousands of innocent persons were thrown by the Gestapo, might be concealed from those who did not wish to see; the ruthless purge from public and economic life in Germany of socialists, communists, trade-unionists and any independent persons might be glossed over as a normal part of a political revolution. But the totalitarian tyranny over thought, the barefaced denial of the right to teach and speak what a man believed to be true, and the intrusion of the ideas of blood and race into the whole intellectual life, from the primary school to the University — that was a cruel and palpable blow to western civilisation.

The academic society in other nations banded together, and heard and felt the call to action. In every country of Western Europe, in Czechoslovakia and Turkey, in North America and the British Commonwealth, not only did protests go up, but practical measures of rescue and salvage were devised. The German scholars and scientists might be lost to their own country, but they should not be lost to science and learning. The idea of cultural co-operation took practical form in many countries by an information service designed to find academic spaces to be filled by the exiles. And the medieval concept of the university, by which the unity of learning and scholarship was expressed, and teachers were appointed without regard to their native or foreign origin, was revived in a new form. In response to the SOS call — save our scholars — many universities, in 1933 and the following years, gave positive expression to the feeling of

responsibility for the universal values of freedom of thought and non-discrimination in academic life. The wealth of "exceptional abilities exceptionally trained" might be dispersed; but it should be preserved for humanity. It helped particularly in the British Commonwealth that the universities were independent of the state, and maintained the principle of freedom of appointment. The principle was that scholars and scientists formed a world society of brotherhood, which should share knowledge regardless of race and religion, and that the learning and science of those displaced was not the property of any nation to use or to discard, but belonged to all mankind.

The migration of German scholars was the most remarkable physical movement in the intellectual world since the migration of the Greek scholars from Constantinople in the 15th century, which was one of the creative forces of the Renaissance. The lead in action of rescue came from England. Galsworthy's remark that "the English are slow; you must always give them time for new ideas" was disproved in this instance, perhaps because practical action was required. Immediately after the Nazi decrees had been published, and the consequences were apparent, a spontaneous outburst of sympathy and helpful action led to the formation of a new body in English university life. It was non-political and non-sectarian and was first known as the "Academic Assistance Council". Men of leading in every branch of public life and learning published an appeal to the British academic world and the general public; and the Council was formed "to assist those university teachers and investigators who, on grounds of religion, political opinion or race, were unable to carry on their work in their own country." The original declaration, issued in May 1933, envisaged the problem in its larger aspects:

"The issue raised at the moment is not a Jewish one alone; many who have suffered or are threatened have no Jewish connections. The issue, though raised acutely at the moment in Germany, is not confined to that country .... Our action implies no unfriendly feelings to the people of any country; it implies no judgment on forms of government or any political issue between countries. Our only aims are the relief of suffering and the defence of learning and science."

The positive action which was immediately initiated was to raise a fund, to be used, primarily, in providing maintenance for the displaced teachers and research workers, and affording them the chance of work in universities and scientific institutions. It was realised also from the outset that one of the primary tasks of the Council must be to form as complete a register as possible of the displaced scholars, including those still within Germany, as well as the refugees. It should also collect the fullest possible information concerning conditions and openings in all countries for the use of the displaced scholars themselves. The scholars were "not so many cases or files", but valuable individuals whose knowledge and experience must be saved, and whose dignity must be upheld for the benefit of the learned world.

The initiative in the formation of the Council was taken by Sir William Beveridge, then Director of the London School of Economics and Political Science. As he records in the introduction to this book, he happened to be in Vienna in April 1933, with Professor Lionel Robbins of the School, and he decided forthwith to initiate a national effort in England to help the academic victims of tyranny. A refugee physicist from Germany, Dr I. Szilard, of Hungarian origin, and formerly an assistant in the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute in Berlin, was in touch with him at Vienna.

When Beveridge returned to England, he marshalled at once the most eminent persons in English public and academic life to form the Academic Assistance Council. The President of the Council was Lord Rutherford of Nelson, by birth a New Zealander, Britain's most famous scientist and a winner of the Nobel Prize. The Vice-Chairmen were Professor A. V. Hill, another Nobel Prizeman — shared with a German physiologist — and Sir Frederic Kenyon, Director of the British Museum and Secretary of the British Academy. The Honorary Treasurer was Professor Greenwood, F.R.S., and the Honorary Secretaries were Beveridge himself and Professor C. S. Gibson, who was also the Honorary Secretary of the Chemical Society. The members of the Council included several of the Vice-Chancellors of British Universities, the recognised heads of every department of learning, and men and women distinguished in public life, as Lord Cecil of Chelwood and the historian and former Minister

of Education, H. A. L. Fisher, Lord Lytton and Lord Buckmaster. The one Jew among the signatories was Professor S. Alexander O.M., who was England's most distinguished philosopher.

The Council was happy in the choice of its General Secretary, Walter Adams. He was in 1933 a young lecturer at London University, and for the next six years, until almost the outbreak of the world war, he gave devoted service, and showed organising capacity of the highest order. He in turn was happy in the choice of his assistant, (and eventually his successor), Miss Esther Simpson, who was working in Geneva for an international cause when the first steps were taken, and who, following him in 1939, gave tireless devotion to the refugee scholars, collectively and individually, for twelve years, through all the stress and strain of the war.

An appropriate home for the Council was generously offered by the Royal Society at Burlington House, London. The Society, founded by Charles II in the 17th century, maintained an international tradition. The Council's first habitation was a bedroom and bathroom in an attic of these august premises, but later it ascended in dignity and descended in space; and later still it moved to Bloomsbury. After the outbreak of the World War it had to migrate as an office to Cambridge, though it preserved, and has preserved throughout, its close connection with the Royal Society. It found other hospitable accomodation in Cambridge, first in the Polar Research Institute, later in the offices of the University Appointments Board, later again in Westminster College; finally, when most of the work was done, in business premises.

Lord Rutherford pointed out in an article in "The Times" (March 9th 1935), that the immediate outcome of the persecution of the mind in Germany was the migration of over 600 academic teachers, a number greater than the whole academic staff of his own university of Cambridge. Obviously they could not be placed at once in permanent posts. The response of the academic world and of the general public to the appeal for funds for "life-belts" for the refugee intellectuals in the first year exceeded £ 13,000; in its first two years rose to over £ 30,000.

Many members of the Staff in British Universities made a regular contribution from their salary. In some Universities the

teachers formed their own committee and chose the scholars to receive the grants.

Still more significant was the response of the Universities to the call to find places, permanent or temporary, where the exiles could continue their work for Science and Learning. While famous refugee professors were welcomed by universities and learned institutions which realised the opportunity of attaching their genius, there was a larger number of older and younger men with a reputation to make, for whom no regular place was immediately vacant. Opportunity must be provided for them. It was the function of the Council, on the one hand, to provide them with a modest allowance for maintenance, and to find places, on the other, in the universities and institutions either in Great Britain or abroad, where they could carry on their work for science and scholarship until a regular academic post might be offered. The grants were on what would be called today an 'austerity' basis, £ 250 for a married scholar, and £ 180 a year for an unmarried. Again, the outcome of the placing effort in Great Britain during the first two years was extraordinarily encouraging. 57 were placed permanently in academic institutions or in industry or general research, and 155 were placed temporarily. Of the temporary appointments, London University with its many colleges made no less than 56, Cambridge 30, Oxford 15, the Scottish Universities 7, and the "Red-brick" Universities the rest.

In those two critical years, of approximately 650 scholars who migrated from Germany, 287 were placed permanently in some 30 countries, and 336 were placed temporarily. While the British share of the permanent appointments — 57 — was more or less average, the British share of temporary appointments — 155 — all but equalled the contribution of the rest of the world. The British Universities and institutions were then the principal asylum, the clearing house.

In the British effort there was "neither Jew nor Gentile", but a simple determination to salvage for humanity and science the talents, of homeless scholars and scientists. As Lord Rutherford said: "The conviction that the Universities form a kingdom of their own whose intellectual autonomy must be preserved", was the basis of the movement. "The occasion was the displace-

ment of our fellow-scientists and scholars from the University positions in Germany; but the problem with which the Council is faced is wider and deeper than that presented by the need for assisting these German teachers. Its ambition is to defend the principle of academic freedom".

One of the dramatic incidents in the first months of activity was a mass meeting in the Albert Hall, London, which was presided over by Lord Rutherford and addressed by Einstein. Rumours were rife that an attempt would be made on Einstein's life by Nazi agents; but in fact nothing untoward happened. The great hall was crowded, and a large contribution was given on that night to the Academic Assistance Council.

Einstein, remarking that the British people had proved their faithfulness to their traditions of tolerance and justice, made the suggestion that a place might be found for some of the younger exiled scholars in lighthouses and lightships, presumably as companions of the Keepers, "where they might think out scientific problems of a mathematical or philosophical nature." His specific suggestion did not prove capable of execution; but on the other hand nothing was more rewarding in the effort of the Council than the aid which was given to a number of the young men, hitherto unknown outside their own universities, to continue their work. The future was soon to prove dramatically their value to the country which had given them the "life-belt".

The Academic Assistance Council and its successor found an understanding attitude in the Home Office under Sir John (later Lord) Simon, Sir Samuel Hoare (Lord Templewood), and Sir John Anderson (Lord Waverley) in turn. The Secretaries of State and their permanent officials, Sir Alexander Maxwell, the Under-Secretary, and Mr E. N. Cooper, the head of the Aliens Department in the critical years, recognised the exceptional circumstances, and were prepared to relax the letter of the Regulations so as to admit those for whom the Society vouched. One of the Home Secretaries, Sir Samuel Hoare, addressing a meeting on behalf of the Council in 1939, pointed to the blessing of continuous security in England, which enlarged the sympathy of the people for refugees from persecution. Every activity of English national life had been strengthened by the fertile brains

of foreign immigrants. Queen Elizabeth and Cromwell opened the doors of asylum; and in every succeeding century that tradition was maintained.

Another Committee of rescue in England was formed by the Jewish community in May 1933. It was known as the Jewish Academic — later, the Professional — Committee. It cooperated with the Council, and was particularly concerned in finding places for persons of the professional groups, doctors, lawyers, teachers and social workers. At the same time, it supplemented the action of the Council in making maintenance grants to academic refugees for whom a research place had been found, or was in prospect, in British Universities and laboratories. The Chairman of the Committee during its first years wss the late Sir Philip Hartog, formerly Academic Registrar of London University, and Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University in India. The first refugee scientist whom they helped was Dr E. B. Chain, later to be famous through his part in the development of Penicillin. By agreement with the Academic Assistance Council, the Committee devoted a large part of their attention to those men and women who were on the border-line of the academic and professional careers. They established fellowships or made grants for specific work in the same way as the Council. Among others they assisted Max Beer, a socialist author, and so enabled him to complete in England his history of British socialism. The Committee drew its funds from a body in England which, between 1933 and 1939, raised in the Jewish community a sum of several million pounds for the relief of refugees from Germany. Recognising the special quality of the academic refugees and the big issue of principle at stake, this Central British Fund made a large contribution to the Professional Committee, to the Academic Assistance Council and its successor, the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning, and to the International Student Service.

The Federation of University Women in England was also associated with the Council in the provision of fellowships. Its appeal was to women: and it directed its help to the women amongst the displaced scholars and scientists. And there were women enough, distinguished both in the Humanities and the Natural Sciences, who needed aid of that kind.

The effort in England was accompanied by a similar effort in all the countries of Western Europe. France, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Denmark and Sweden each formed their academic committee, to assist particularly those refugee scholars who had found temporary asylum in their country, and to find places for some of them in the universities of the country.

The French Comité des Savants was created at a meeting held in the Sorbonne on the 13th May 1933, and presided over by M. Honnorat, former Minister of Education and President of the University City in Paris. It included two Jewish Professors and several distinguished scientists, among them Professor Jean Perrin, who had won the Nobel Prize for Chemistry. It restricted its efforts to helping university teachers, and those who were properly classified as "Savants", i.e. those who had devoted their life to Research. The academic Comité in France, unlike the English Council, did not contribute money, collectively or individually. They helped to provide places and gave generously of their time; but they looked to the Rockefeller Foundation and to Jewish bodies and individuals to provide the means. In their first year they raised in these ways a sum of 700,000 francs, which was distributed between 54 men of science to enable them to find temporary posts in laboratories. The French universities being state institutions had greater difficulties than the autonomous British universities in absorbing foreign scholars; and the number permanently appointed was small. In the second year the funds of the Comité were reduced and its activities were curtailed. In Holland similarly the academic body (Steunfonds), which in the first year made grants and created places for 44 scholars, could not maintain that effort in the second year.

In the international centre of Geneva an international committee was established to bring help to the much larger number of intellectual refugees who were not academic teachers, but doctors, lawyers, architects, writers, and so forth. They were numbered not in hundreds but in thousands; and the Comité International Pour le Placement des Intellectuels Refugiés reported in its first year that nearly 3,000 persons turned to it. The Committee drew its funds from many countries; and one source was a special series of postage stamps, which the Govern-

ment of the Duchy of Luxemburg was induced to issue. Its Council included representatives of all the free nations of Western Europe and the U.S.A. Its Honorary Secretary and active director was Mademoiselle Marie Ginsberg, from the staff of the League of Nations Library, a woman of inexhaustible energy and resolution. The President of the Committee in Geneva, Professor Rappard, Rector of the University, and one of the Swiss pillars of the League of Nations, was at the same time the Director of a post-graduate school for international studies. That Institution became in large measure a Faculty in Exile. Rappard himself and a few of the permanent staff were Swiss, and the co-director, Professor Mantoux, was French; but many of the professors and lecturers were refugees. From Italy came the liberal historian Ferrero, from Germany the international lawyer and head of the Peace movement, Hans Wehberg, from Austria, Hans Kelsen, a "non-Aryan" philosopher of Law and formerly head of the School of Jurisprudence in Vienna and then in Cologne University. In the Geneva school a number of refugee scholars and students attended courses while they were waiting for an appointment.

The German refugee scholars themselves formed in Switzerland another body which took a prominent part in the work of rescue. It bore the German title, "Notgemeinschaft deutscher Wissenschaftler im Ausland", meaning the "Emergency Society of German Scholars Abroad". Its first home was Zurich; later, from January 1936, it moved its centre to England, in order to work in closer collaboration with the Academic Assistance Council and its successor, the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning. All the members of its Committee were German, and they were drawn from various faculties. They included Professor Philipp Schwartz, anatomist, in Zurich: Professor Moritz Bonn, economist, then in London: Professor Max Born, the physicist, then in Cambridge: Professor Ernst Cassirer, the philosopher, then in Oxford: and Geheimrat Demuth, formerly Director of the Political Academy in Berlin.

When it was founded, the organisation thought that the problem was to place about 300 unabsorbed intellectuals in the universities of the world, and so distribute them that there would not be a burden on any single country. Their activity would

be concentrated on the countries where no national committee was established for helping the displaced scholars. In practice the countries were Turkey, the Asiatic and the South American countries. They were soon to find that the problem was of larger dimensions; and it was the Notgemeinschaft which, having the fullest knowledge of the particulars of each displaced scholar, in 1936 drew up and published, with the help of the Rockefeller Foundation, a detailed list, including nearly 1500 names, of those dismissed from their academic posts in Germany alone.

The Notgemeinschaft's most remarkable achievement in its initial period was the placing of a group of German University teachers in the new University of Istanbul and in other learned institutes in the renascent Turkish State of Mustapha Kemal Ataturk. In the end over a hundred found a home, permanent or temporary, in the Ottoman land. That enterprise, of which more is said elsewhere, (see Chapter IV page 54 ff.) was organised with the help of the Swiss Professor Malche in Geneva.

A smaller, but not insignificant, number of scholars was placed through the efforts of the Notgemeinschaft in countries of Central and Southern America and Asia. It was a principle of the Association that any university teacher placed abroad should look for openings for other exiles in professional life as well as in the academic callings. By this system of mutual aid during its fourteen years of life it is reckoned that the Association placed 2000 persons in all parts of the world. Apart from its academic contingent in Istanbul and Ankara, it contrived to place a few in the new University of Teheran which was founded by Shah Riza Pahlevi of Iran, though the hopes, which were at one time held out, of rivalling the absorption of Istanbul were disappointed. Another bright hope of an Indian Prince, to establish a medical college in his realm, led to the preparation of the files of some hundreds of candidates, but to no practical result.

The American effort initiated by the Emergency Committee for Aid to Displaced German Scholars was next in importance to the British. The driving spirits were Dr Stephen Duggan, Director of the Institute for International Education, Dr Alfred Cohn, a Research worker in the Rockefeller Institute of Medical Research, Dr Bernard Flexner, a lawyer of high repute, and

member of a family devoted to science, and lastly, Mr Fred Stern, a leader of philanthropy in New York. They found a brilliant executive officer in Edward Murrow, the Assistant-director of Duggan's Institute, who, however, in 1935 became chief of the European staff of the Columbia Broadcasting System, and in the world-war was a star commentator about the Battle of Britain. The story of the work of the Committee has been written by Dr Duggan and Miss Betty Drury, who succeeded Mr Murrow. *

It was natural that the American academic world should make a resolute effort to absorb German exiles; for from the latter part of the 19th century American universities had received an increasing number of their teachers from Germany, and had sent to Germany an increasing number of their own teachers and scholars for advanced study. America too, like England, cherished faithfully the tradition of freedom of thought. Circumstance in 1933 and 1934 militated, however, against a general effort of the university world comparable with that in England. America was still in the trough of its economic crisis; and its vast array of universities were in many cases victims of the blizzard and forced to reduce their staff. The appeal for funds there was directed primarily not to the university teachers and the general public but to the wealthy educational trusts and foundations, the Rockefeller, Carnegie, and the like, and to Jewish philanthropic bodies. Nor did the American Committee endeavour to be a place-finding organisation. It did not initiate the temporary placement of scholars, but waited for the university to apply for a grant to enable it to invite a refugee scholar. In such cases it made the contribution for a period of two years.

Generous grants were made by the Research foundations and educational corporations, particularly the Rockefeller Foundation, and the total American financial contribution by 1935 equalled that of the rest of the world. Yet in that period the total number of scholars permanently placed was only 68, and the number temporarily placed 83. The larger reception came later, when the absorptive capacity of British Universities and Institutes was nearly exhausted. A number of refugee scholars and

* "The Rescue of Science and Learning", (Macmillan) 1948.

scientists waiting in England were sent out to the United States to explore the possibilities for themselves. They were given their return passage; and if they found amongst the hundreds of colleges some academic hole in which they could fit, they set out a second time from England to take up an academic appointment.

The need for co-ordination of the many national and international efforts for the academic refugees was recognised from the outset, and the Academic Assistance Council, as the author and holder of the master-file, took the initiative also in this activity. But after the Assembly of the League of Nations in 1933 created the Office of High Commissioner for the Refugees, (Jewish and Other), coming from Germany, it was arranged that that office should take over the work. And for two years, 1934–36, it gave an international backing, while it assured collaboration of the national bodies.

The first High Commissioner was an American, Dr James G. MacDonald, (later to be the first American Ambassador to Israel); and the Chairman of the governing body of the High Commissioner was Lord Cecil of Chelwood, the English protagonist of the League of Nations. At the first meeting of the governing body, held in Lausanne in December 1933, Lord Cecil remarked that there were physical spaces and intellectual spaces to be filled in the world. Missions of search for academic prospects were sent out, among other countries to South America.

One task of the Commission was to promote international co-ordination of the national academic committees. An international Universities Experts committee, with representatives of the principal academic organisations, was founded in 1934, and something was done about pooling of funds. An international appeal was launched for a central fund to relieve the pressure on some of the national committees, but it was a minor factor in the total effort. Dr Walter Kotschnig, who had formerly been Secretary of the International Student Service at Geneva, and at the time was the Director of that service in America, was appointed in 1934 by the High Commissioner as Liaison Officer for the academic committees, and was concerned with the whole field of rescue of intellectuals, including migrant members of the learned professions and migrant students.

A report published in March 1935, showed that the total sum contributed up to that time by the national committees and the Foundations was over £ 250,000. That sum was apart from grants made to individual scholars, and grants made by institutions, particularly in the United States of America.

The Office of the High Commissioner in its original form came to an end in December 1935, when Dr James G. MacDonald resigned on account of the failure of the States Members of the League to provide sufficient assistance and to face up to the issues raised by Germany's war against civilisation. Though a new High Commissioner, an Englishman, General Sir Neil Malcolm, was at once appointed by the League, his functions were restricted to juridical help and the co-ordination of the activities of the voluntary and academic societies. Money-raising by his office on behalf of the academic or other refugees was not long continued. The Society for the Protection of Science and Learning, stimulated by the ardent spirit of the late Louis Rapkine in France (see later), made a fresh effort in 1937, to re-organise and transform its work on international lines. It should become an international body; and add to its Council, as corresponding members, eminent men of Science and Learning from eight European countries and from the U.S.A. and Canada, and the Chairman of the German "Notgemeinschaft".

A Conference on Academic Freedom for this purpose held at Oxford in November 1937, at the invitation of Sir William Beveridge, who in the meantime had become Master of University College, laid down certain principles. Assistance must be available in any country for scholars who were unable to continue their scientific work on grounds of race, religion or political opinion; it must not be available for those who were not able to continue their work for purely economic reasons; it must have a specifically academic character and not be charitable relief, and complete autonomy in policy, methods of work and membership must be enjoyed by the national committees. Professor Nils Bohr of Denmark was invited to act as President of the International Committee, and Sir William Beveridge as Vice-President. The International Committee was to appeal to the International Foundations and other sources for funds.

The plan had not come to fruition before the problem was

aggravated by the extension of the Hitler tyranny first over Austria, and then over Czechoslovaka, and the consequent exile of a fresh stream of scholars and scientists. It is a sad reflection that, if larger funds had been available in 1937 and 1938, many more from the Continent of Europe might have been saved, and the German war effort would have been more seriously crippled.

Before the larger action required to deal with the doubled need could be framed, the second World War had burst and snapped the links. All that was possible in the war years was constant personal consultation between the bodies which could still be active in rescue. Several were dissolved perforce. The survivors were the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning in England, the American Emergency Committee for Displaced Scholars in the United States, the Comité International in Geneva, and the Notgemeinschaft Deutscher Wissenschaftler im Ausland, recently removed to London.

The Academic Assistance Council became the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning in 1937, when it was realised that something more permanent than an emergency council was required. There was an intention at the time of incorporating a limited company, but that step was never taken; and the legal position of the body has remained throughout that of a voluntary society. It had some 2,000 subscribing members, many of them university teachers of all grades who continued to contribute from their salary.

The S.P.S.L. was concerned to help academic teachers not only from Germany, but from Italy, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Portugal, Spain and Russia. The U.S.S.R., indeed, in 1935 was added to the countries in which displaced scholars might find a temporary home, and a number of scientists and doctors were placed there. But that home proved to be all too temporary. A fresh outbreak of xenophobia in 1936 led to the dismissal and return of almost all of them, and the imprisonment of a few. Among the expelled was Herbert Fröhlich, later Professor in Liverpool. Nor was Russia the only country which both received and expelled scholars.

The German problem itself was aggravated after the promulgation by Hitler of the Nuremberg Laws in 1935. The total

of academic persons displaced from the German Universities rose to 1,700, and the internal conditions in Germany for those who were dismissed gravely deteriorated, so that the exodus was renewed. The Civil War in Spain, about the same period, led to the emigration of more than 50 of the Spanish university teachers. For most of them the chosen haven was Mexico or other State of Latin America, but a few were placed in England. Of them the surgeon Professor Josep Trueta was to render signal service in the second World War.

Yet another reservoir of academic exiles was China. The Japanese armies deliberately destroyed the universities in the Provinces which they conquered, and university life in China was altogether disrupted. The help of Chinese teachers and students was entrusted to the International Student Service which, with its centre in Geneva, had vigorous branches in England and the United States. But there could be no question of placing in British Universities any of the exiles from the Far East; and the displaced Chinese are outside this study.

Besides its work in China, the International Students Service (I.S.S.) was the agency chosen by common consent to deal with the refugee students from the Continent of Europe who were multiplied in these revolutionary years preceding the second world war. In 1937 their number was estimated at 3500. They took refuge for the most part in England, France, Italy, Switzerland, and Holland. Some had nearly finished their University courses, other had only just started, They were all faced with the problem of becoming self-supporting. In most cases that meant that they must complete their interrupted studies, or retrain for a practical profession. Most of them applied to I.S.S. for help, and the High Commissioner for the Refugees asked the society to accept responsibility for these young refugees. They were helped either by the International Committee at Geneva, or by the national committees, in Great Britain, U.S.A., France and the Western countries. To about one fifth, including some of the most brilliant students of the generation, the I.S.S. granted scholarship to enable them to complete their studies at Universities abroad. But the principal help was advice and placing of uprooted students in colleges for practical training and technical institutes of all kinds.

I.S.S. had gained a large experience and reputation in similar tasks during the first decade after the first world war, when it was responsible for the salvage of thousands of students in the war-shattered countries of Central and Eastern Europe and of China. It raised for those purposes a sum of nearly half a million pounds, of which a considerable proportion was contributed by groups of students at the Universities. That was an admirable example of academic solidarity at the base; and the tradition, then established, of students in the free countries helping students from oppressed countries, has been maintained unbrokenly for over thirty years. As with the Academic Assistance Council and other bodies formed for the assistance of the university teachers, so with the I.S.S., the principle held of no discrimination on grounds of Race or Religion or political opinion. Merit was the one qualification for help. Branches of I.S.S. were established in every British University; and the students in Great Britain made a contribution of £ 20,000 to the whole effort.

Students helped students. It was necessary to carry out a thorough sifting, and to choose out of the 3,500 those who were fitted for university studies, and re-direct those who did not seem fitted. For the latter class retraining for some technical or practical vocation was often the chosen way. And the International Student Service aided the organisation of practical courses in agriculture, in skilled crafts and the like.

During the second world war the International Students Service collaborated with the World Student Christian Federation and Pax Romana in establishing a joint War Emergency Relief Committee for the mass of displaced students and students in exile. That Committee became the World Students Relief Organisation in 1943, and later, after the end of the war, it was renamed the World University Service. It is still active in the work of assisting refugee students anywhere in the world. With the help of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) it has established an international Scholarship Fund; and the basis of all its help is the principle of non-discrimination, without regard to race, nationality or creed.

Chapter III

GROWTH OF THE PROBLEM 1938–1945

The Nazi rape of Austria in 1938 brought about the displacement of over 400 Austrian University teachers. Half of them were from the famous medical schools of Vienna and Graz; many of the other half were eminent in Chemistry, Law, Music and the History of Art. England was again the principal first haven, and 70 were placed in British Institutions, through the efforts of the Society for Protection of Science and Learning. There was the opportunity of concentrating in Britain groups from the medical schools. But the British medical profession was anxious over the consequence of such a bold step, and opposed it. The opportunity was lost, and the schools as such were disintegrated. Individuals found their place in England and America and many other countries, and salvation by single instances was the principle everywhere. Professor S. Freud, the creator of the science of Psycho-analysis, found asylum in England, and died there in 1939.

The extension of the Nazi racial frenzy to Italy in 1938, and the growing subservience of the Fascist government to its Nazi uneasy ally, led to a minor migration from Italian universities of over a hundred university scholars and scientists deprived of their posts because of their Jewish origin. In that same year of Terror 1938–39, the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia compelled another exodus. Jewish professors and teachers, a few German refugee scholars who had been harboured, and some Russian academic refugees who had turned to the neighbouring Slav country, moved — if they could get away — to the West. So the problem of protection and placement took on larger dimensions than were originally contemplated.

In England, America, and France the consequences of the

wider persecution were drawn; and the societies for the assistance of academic refugees expanded their objects and renewed their appeals. In France a fresh committee was formed in 1936 with a longer name: "Comité Français pour l'Accueil et l'Organisation du Travail des Savants Etrangers," and it assisted, besides German refugee scholars, those who had been displaced from Spain, Portugal Italy and Russia. The initiator of the movement in France was a Jewish research scientist, Louis Rapkine, whose name did not, however, appear amongst the officers or the committee. He kept himself in the background, because he was not of French origin and had not yet acquired French nationality. He was born in Czarist Russia, emigrated as a child to Canada from that land of Jewish oppression in the early years of the twentieth Century, found his first scientific home and became a Canadian citizen. He moved to France, where he could obtain greater opportunities for scientific research, and worked in the Pasteur Institute. By his generous nature, his ardent faith, and his selfless devotion both to science and to moral causes, he exercised an extraordinary influence over all with whom he came into contact, and was to play during the next decade an outstanding part in the rescue of scholars and scientists after the German occupation of Western Europe. He died prematurely of a malignant disease in 1947.

The Presidency of the Society was held by the physicist, Jean Perrin, who had been a member of the earlier Committee, but it was Rapkine's persistence and persuasion which secured funds for the new effort. He prevailed on the Governmental 'Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique' to make research grants to a few refugee scientists, and obtained support from the French Government itself, through the good offices of Madame Joliot-Curie, then Under-Secretary for Scientific Research. Other funds were obtained by him from the American Joint Distribution Committee, — the Jewish philanthropic body founded during the first world war to relieve distress anywhere, — and through private appeal. And his initiative in 1937 brought about closer co-operation of the British, the French and other academic committees, and the formation of an international Committee.

Palestine, then administered under the British Mandate, was

another country of refuge, or rather, the country in which many of the Jewish scholars and scientists could find a permanent home. The Jews in Palestine were a relatively small community. But they were ardent to help. The three infant institutions of higher learning, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, the Technicum or Polytechnic Institute at Haifa, and the Daniel Sieff Research Institute for Chemistry at Rehovot, directed by Dr Weizmann, each made a special effort to place some of the scholars and scientists driven from German Universities. Palestine became also one of the principal countries to which Jewish intellectuals, who were not university teachers but members of the liberal professions, turned for a home. Doctors in particular flocked there; and it is reported that the Jewish Agency for Palestine had at one time to send a warning to the central Jewish body in Germany. "Send no more doctors; send patients." The intellectual absorptive capacity of Palestine was recognised by the British S.P.S.L. In 1939 the Society sponsored an appeal for the University of Jerusalem to enable it to receive more scholars and scientists. The Archbishop of York, Dr William Temple, (later Archbishop of Canterbury) who, on the death of Lord Rutherford, succeeded him as President of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning, gave the lead in the appeal.

The Society that year (1939) issued an appeal for its domestic needs, at what proved to be the opportune time. The response, which brought £ 15,000, together with the regular subscriptions, enabled the work to be carried on throughout the years of the war. As we shall see, the war, while in its first stages aggravating the problem in England, soon changed the conditions radically for the better, so that almost all the beneficiaries of the Society's activity were able not only to maintain themselves, and to continue their scholarly work, but to make a significant contribution to the Allied war effort. Scarcely ever can so much have been done in the service of humanity for so small a contribution of money.

The outbreak of the World War in 1939 immediately brought about dramatic changes in the work of rescue. England was cut off from Germany and Austria and the other countries of migration. To the United States, on the other hand, ways were still open from Europe through Italy and Holland. The movement

then of the scholars and scientists who could get out was generally to the New World direct; and during the period from September 1939 until the end of 1941, when America also came into the war, the number of scholars placed in American universities rose till it equalled, and then surpassed, the number who had been placed in Britain. The demand for manpower, including intellectual manpower, at the same time enlarged the possibilities of employment for those refugee scholars scientists and intellectuals in Britain who had not yet found a permanent post. In the first months of the 'phony' war that movement was slow and restricted. It grew in momentum during and after the Battle for Britain 1940.

It was another alleviation of the material cares of the S.P.S.L., that the British Government realised, before the end of 1939, that voluntary societies could not be expected to carry unaided, for the indefinite duration of the War, the burden of maintaining those refugees for whom they had accepted responsibility. They agreed to contribute a substantial part — nearly half, — of the help which was given by the Society to maintain those scholars who were unemployed or dependent. And they continued that aid till hostilities were over, and beyond.

On the other hand, the peril to the life of the nation in the summer of 1940, when England stood alone to defend herself and Western civilisation against the Nazis, led to a distressing, if short-lived, change in the Government attitude to the refugees from Germany and Austria, whatever their vocation and whatever their activity. For a period, happily short, nothing that was alien was deemed reliable. At the outbreak of the war the Government organised an individual scrutiny by judicial tribunals of the 80,000 refugees from the enemy countries who were, technically, 'enemy aliens'. Liberty from internment was granted to those who were certified by the tribunals to be genuine victims of Nazi persecution. With scarcely an exception the academic refugees were placed in that category and were able to carry on their work of Scholarship and Science. But in May, 1940, the fear of the Fifth Column, excited by incidents of the collapse in France and the Low Countries, caused the cry, 'Intern the lot', to be raised in the Press. The Government was reluctant to abandon its liberal and sane policy. Yet little by little it gave

way to clamour. After the preliminary internment of male 'enemy aliens' in the danger zone of the Eastern Counties, it ordered, in June 1940, the internment of all male refugees from Germany, Italy and Austria. Scores of University teachers and research workers and students at the University and the schools were caught in the net. They were torn from their work, some from work of national importance, and sent to the internment camps in the Isle of Man. Some were deported in deplorable conditions to the overseas Dominions, Canada and Australia, together with Nazi Germans who had been interned for security reasons at the outbreak of the War.

Fortunately, in some parts of the country the order for general internment was not executed immediately. The Society for the Protection of Science and Learning and other agencies marshalled all their influence and liberal opinion. And on the 18th July, another order was issued by the Government to provide for the release of persons engaged in work of national importance and regarded as reliable. Liberal opinion quickly rallied; and the S.P.S.L. took the lead in bringing home to the Government the folly and mischief of panic action. Moreover, it undertook to help the Government authorities in sifting from the Internment Camps those who by their special abilities had been, and could be, of value for the national effort, and at the same time could be passed as reliable. Professor A. V. Hill, a Vice-President of the Society, and then Member of Parliament for Cambridge University, asked a question in the House of Commons of Sir John Anderson, the Home Secretary. He got the reply that Science and Learning were regarded by His Majesty's Government as matters of national importance. The arrangements for the release of those recommended by the Society were made with Sir Alexander Maxwell, the Permanent Under-Secretary at the Home Office, who showed the greatest good-will. Another Member of Parliament for a University constituency, the late Miss Eleanor Rathbone, who was a devoted fighter for all refugees, also played an eminent part. The two University representatives were indefatigable, and they had the authority of perfect integrity. Other tried champions of freedom, Colonel Josiah (later Lord) Wedgwood, Graham White, Dr Maude Royden, would not let the matter rest. Maynard (later Lord) Keynes at

Cambridge threw his authority into the fight for liberation.

"I can remember nothing equal to what is going on for stupidity and callousness", he wrote to a friend about the internment *. By his personal effort he secured the early release of four economists then at Cambridge: P. Sraffa, E. Rothbarth, H. W. Singer and E. Rosenbaum. It is illuminating to record the subsequent services of the four. The first, who was from Italy, but not technically a refugee, remained a teacher of Economics at Cambridge and edited the works and writings of Ricardo. Rothbarth enlisted in a combatant unit of the British Forces and was killed at Arnhem. Singer has become one of the economic staff of the United Nations; and Rosenbaum, who had been an expert of Germany's Reparation Delegation at the end of the First World War, became a Librarian at the London School of Economics.

The Government was moved to issue a White Paper defining a number of categories of those who could be regarded as valuable for war work and should be released. But, while the refugees were interned wholesale, they were only released retail. And it took a year to repair the mischief, a year of constant pressure in and out of Parliament.

The first of the Debates in Parliament about the internment and the use of the refugees in the national effort, took place on the 10th July 1940. It was opened by Colonel Victor Cazalet, (later killed in the war), who was himself a descendant of Huguenots, and inherited a deep sympathy with refugees from oppression. He pointed out that the Government had locked up many scientists who were making a real contribution to winning the war. Then Eleanor Rathbone stressed that thousands of them interned were eager to take their full part in the struggle against the Nazis. She gave a tragic example of a former Professor of Chemistry in a German University, 62 years old, and an international authority on dye-stuffs, who had been thrown by the Nazis into a concentration camp, and got to England just before the war. He was engaged in research for utilising sisal waste in submarines. As soon as the release Orders were enacted, the firm applied for his exemption from internment. But no answer

* See "Life of J. M. Keynes" by Roy Harrod, p. 497.

had come from the Home Office when the Police came to his home to take him. He begged them to wait until the Home Office replied. They did not; and unable to face internment again, he took poison and killed himself. The trouble, she commented, was not malice or lack of understanding at the Home Office, but administrative confusion and blundering. "It was as easy to get a man out of internment as to pull a camel through the eye of a needle". Colonel Josiah Wedgwood observed that the authorities failed to understand that we were engaged in a war of religions, and not in a war of nations. These refugees from the Nazis, who were treated as enemy aliens, were fighters against the Nazi religion.

A second debate was held on the 3rd December 1940. By that time a Council of Aliens had been set up by the Government to deal with the release of those among the interned who could make a contribution to the war effort. Professor A. V. Hill complained of the delays in releasing most distinguished scientists for whom application had been made through the Royal Society. Even after release, in many cases, they could not get a permit to work. Many men with scientific qualifications had joined the British Forces and were restricted to the manual labour of the Pioneer Corps. They should be transferred to the Engineers or the Medical Corps, or other formations which could use their talents.

A third debate on the 25th February 1941, was concerned particularly with the treatment of refugees who had been sent out to Australia and to Canada, in company with Nazi prisoners, 'enemy aliens' in the true sense, and had been badly treated on the voyage. It was a tragedy of that period of crisis that a group of refugees eminent in learning and science were transported to Canada on the ship 'Arandora Star', which was sunk in the Atlantic by enemy action, with the loss of most of its passengers. But while these tragedies and blunders occurred, what stood out was the rapid recovery of liberal opinion in England, and the sustained effort of English fighters for freedom to redress the mistakes.

Among the categories eligible for release were:

(1) scientists, research workers and persons of academic distinction for whom work of importance in their special fields

is available; and (2) persons of eminent distinction who have made outstanding contributions to art, science or letters. At the instance of the Society, tribunals were set up by the Vice-Chancellors of the Universities, the Royal Society and the British Academy, and Royal Society of Medicine to consider applications from scientists, academic workers, authors and intellectuals generally. Similar committees were set up by the Royal Academy of Arts, the Royal Institute of British Architects, the P.E.N. Club, the lawyers' and the musicians' associations, to deal with applications from persons in their professions. The small staff of the Society prepared the applications, collecting the testimony in each individual case from persons qualified to speak both as to the character of the applicant and as to the value of his scientific, scholarly, literary, or artistic work. It carried through that service for over 550 applicants. Many who were interned had been resident in England for some years, employed in research and in industry, and had proved their value. It was fortunate that the Society came to the rescue, and were able to secure the release of many who rendered scientific and expert service in the war. In the end it could be said that one of the great English contributions to the Allied cause was the direct and systematic utilisation of all available scientific skill for war operations.

Similar action for students was called for in the first years of the war; and the International Student Service was the agent of deliverance. Hundreds of young persons who were attending Colleges in all parts of Great Britain fell under the internment regulations in the Summer of 1940. Many were transported to the Isle of Man, which, having been the encampment for German Prisoners-of-War in the first world war, became in 1940 the chief internment place for the refugees from Germany. Many others were transported, together with adult refugees, to Canada and Australia, and interned there. Persistent pressure secured from the Home Office the establishment of a category of release covering students whose character could be vouched for. And the I.S.S. rendered for students a service parallel to that which the S.P.S.L. rendered for older academic victims. Almost all who had temporarily lost their liberty were restored within a year to liberty and their studies. Moreover, through its branches in

the Commonwealth countries, I.S.S. extended help to those who had been transported under duress, till they too were released, either to continue their studies or to join the Allied Forces. It rendered service also to hundreds of young men and women from the Allied countries who escaped to England, from Belgium, Holland and France, Czechoslovakia and Poland. When the end of the war revealed the presence of uprooted students in the concentration camps of Germany and the Nazi-occupied countries, numbered now not in thousands but in tens of thousands, the International Student Service could bring relief to the mass, and to a fraction the possibility of resuming studies.

Those transported to Canada and Australia in the autumn of 1940, before the remedial measures for releasing internees had come into full working, included scholars and scientists of distinction. A typical example was a young Austrian, F. G. Friedlander, educated at an English public school, and a brilliant student of Trinity College, Cambridge. In that autumn he was elected to a Fellowship at his College on the strength of his original contribution in mathematics and mechanical science. Professor A. V. Hill wrote to "The Times" to point out: "There is urgent need for people with his qualifications. Being of 'enemy' origin, however, and with no suspicion whatever of his loyalty and integrity, he has been deported and interned in Canada. The action of the College seems more sensible than that of His Majesty's Government." The protest was effective; he was returned to England to become later Lecturer in Applied Mathematics at the University of Manchester.

The Society for the Protection of Science and Learning prepared the application for the release of these transported intellectuals with thoroughness, as it had prepared the cases of those interned in Britain; and in all cases secured their liberation. Some of them, however, chose, when liberated, to remain in the country of the Commonwealth, and one result of the transportation was to bring unexpected talents to the overseas British nations. Australia had taken advantage of the opportunity, used them in the war, and has retained them permanently. Dr Leonhard Adam, who had been a lecturer in law at Berlin University, and was interned and transported to Australia in 1940, became a Lecturer in Ethnology at the University of

Melbourne. Dr Bruno Breyer, who did research in Colloid Science at Cambridge until 1940, became Lecturer in Agricultural Chemistry at the University of Sydney. Other refugee scientists were in Australia when war broke out and were engaged in the war effort. Dr Ella Flaum, a woman biochemist, worked for the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, Dr F. Laszlo lectured in Engineering, and Dr F. Loewe was in charge of the Department of Meteorology at Melbourne University. In New Zealand, K. S. Kreielsheimer was head of the Section of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research dealing with Radio-Electronics, and after the war became Lecturer in Auckland University College.

Bernhard Katz, a physiologist who, expelled from Leipzig, had worked with A. V. Hill in London University since 1935, arrived in Australia just before the outbreak of war to take up a post in Sydney. Later, he acquired Australian citizenship, and immediately joined the Royal Australian Air Force. He went with the Australian forces to New Guinea as a Radar specialist. At the end of the war Professor Hill brought him back to England to work in the Bio-physics Research Unit of University College London; and in 1951 he was appointed Professor of Bio-Physics, succeeding Hill himself.

In Canada the physicist Gerhard Herzberg, who had been appointed to a University post in 1935, was not molested. At the end of the war he was for a few years in the United States, but was called back to Canada as Director of the Physics Division of the Canadian Research Council. In 1951 he was one of five alien refugees elected to the Fellowship of the Royal Society of London.

The disasters of the Blitzkrieg in Europe and the Nazi occupation in turn of Denmark and Norway, Holland, Belgium and France brought fresh peril and persecution to the academic society, native and foreign, in those countries. Teachers of Jewish origin and any who were known to be exponents of liberal thought were on a black list and in danger for their lives. The avenues of escape were limited, but the ingenuity of the rescuers was sharpened by the difficulties. Many of the fugitives from Denmark and Norway were brought to Sweden. Among them, one of the most famous physicists, Professor Niels Bohr,

got away in a fishing boat at night, and was one of the master-minds in the wartime development of atomic energy. A group of Norwegian Professors were brought just in time to England, and were given the opportunity to use their brains in the common effort. A notable figure was Professor Alfred Sommerfelt, who held the Chair of Languages at Oslo, and was the Minister of Education of the Exiled Norwegian Government in London from 1941–1945.

In France the deliverance assumed the character of a romantic underground. And again Dr Rapkine organised and directed the effort. During the collapse of France in June 1940, he was in England on a scientific mission for the Allies, as a member of the French Coal Delegation. With untiring resourcefulness and devotion he planned the rescue of some of the veterans, and of some of the younger men in the French Universities, as well as of those scholar-refugees from Germany who had found in France a precarious asylum. The rescuers of 1933 and 1936 were in mortal peril under the Vichy Government for having tried to save victims of Nazi oppression. Rapkine had the help in England of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning; and going out to America, raised funds for the salvage operation, obtained visas for at least forty scientists and scholars and their families, and moved the American rescue bodies to find positions for them. That was in 1941, before America had come into the war. The New School for Social Research, which had formed the University in Exile *, was roused to a fresh effort, to make places for another 100 scholars from Europe. The Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Foundation gave generously, and a benefactor of the Rosenwald family of Chicago created 25 Fellowships for younger men.

The families of these scholars were shepherded out of France deviously, and made their way to America, mostly through England. Rapkine had set his heart on forming a group of French scientists who would work as a team and make a collective contribution to the war effort. They formed a Scientific Mission of de Gaulle's Free French Government in Exile. Among them were the veteran scientist and Nobel Prizewinner, Jean Perrin, and the veteran mathematician, Jacques Hadamard, and his

* See Chapter IV p. 48.

successor in the Chair of Mathematics at the Collège de France, Professor Mandelbrot.

The American authorities, however, were not able to make full use of them. So in 1943 Rapkine brought a large part of the scientific mission to England, where they received a warmer welcome and had opportunity of contributing their talents. Many were integrated into the operational research which had been worked out by English scientists with the different departments of the fighting forces and of the production of munitions. And when France was delivered in 1944 from the Nazi stranglehold, Rapkine was instrumental in bringing over from France to England more men of science belonging to different disciplines. They were able to profit from the new Allied achievements in the scientific fields, and to take back to France new ideas. Most of the rescued scientists, whether Frenchmen or resident aliens in France, went back to the country, and there made their contribution to the final victory.

In the war years the American Committees placed altogether 288 rescued scholars and scientists, and in addition 47 younger intellectuals, in 147 colleges of the continent. Most secured a semi-permament place in American University life, because at the end of the war the demand for teachers in all branches of knowledge was reinforced.

War indeed proved to be, in Aristotle's words, "a forcible teacher". It broadened the minds of the academic society in the countries fighting for freedom, and it gave opportunity for the use of every branch of knowledge and research. The fears of competition that had limited the employment of the exiles in times of peace were dissipated. In a totalitarian war the recognition was widespread that there must be a total enlistment of brains, native and imported. In England a central register was formed in 1939 of all persons, whether British or foreign, with special skills or professional qualifications, with a view to their being used to the best advantage. And an International Labour Branch was set up in July 1940, to deal with aliens and place them in employment suitable to their capacities. After a persistent struggle, the resistance of the medical professional bodies to the employment of the exiled medical talent from the Conti-

nent was partly broken. Some hundreds of the doctors in Britain, who had not obtained British medical qualifications before the war, and were then unable to practice, were placed on a temporary Register of the Medical Council, and enabled to use their skill, in accordance with the Defence Regulations, in hospitals and clinics and as assistants to British practitioners. By April 1942 1,032 aliens had been placed on the temporary Register; and of them 735 were employed in the Forces or as civilians.

At the end of the war steps were taken to prolong the temporary registration, which would lapse in February 1946, for a further period of two years. Most of those who got their opportunity through the war have remained in the medical profession permanently, Similarly other refugees with professional qualifications, lawyers and jurists, journalists and linguists found their niche. It is an indication of this war intake that, early in 1941, the Professional Committee of the Jewish Refugee Council (see above) had a list of 176 awaiting employment, and in the summer of 1942 could report that over half were fully employed.

German refugees as well as other intellectual aliens were obviously useful for the Broadcasting Services, instruments of the war on the mind. They were designated to be the spokesmen of Allied policy to their native land, or to 'monitor', i.e. to report the broadcasts of the enemy. Germans, Italians, Czechs, Austrians, Spaniards, Belgians and Dutch were used for this service. It was stated in the House of Commons at the end of 1941, that 61 Germans and 303 other aliens were employed as announcers, translators, monitors and in minor capacities. Among them were a few experts on the Middle East and Arab culture. Mischievous Press clamour against their employment had occasional echos in Parliament; but the Minister of Information stood firm.

The number of refugees holding University and Research posts who served in the Armed Forces was relatively few. It was realised that for men with their special knowledge this was not the best service. And till 1942, the only Army formation open to any alien of enemy origin was the Pioneer Corps, which was denied combatant service, and restricted to labour behind the lines. Gradually the alien soldiers of the Pioneer Corps won

the right to do combatant service, and were allowed to transfer to other units. Two of the academic refugees who made their way into the fighting forces were killed; E. Rothbart, the young economist mentioned above, who fell at Arnhem, and a Czech sociologist, Lieutenant H. O. Ziegler, who volunteered for the Czech army on the outbreak of war, and subsequently joined in England the Royal Air Force.

The wartime and subsequent career of several of the refugees who did service in the Armed Forces is worthy of note. Mr F. L. Carsten, who was in the Pioneer Corps, was appointed a lecturer in history at Bedford College, London. Dr Bernardelli, who served in the Indian Army as Paymaster, was before the war lecturer at Rangoon University in Economics, and after it Senior Lecturer at Otago, New Zealand. Dr E. J. Cohn, who had been a Professor of Law at Breslau University, and was a gunner in the Royal Artillery, was a principal adviser in the German Division of the Foreign Office. Dr H. Grüneberg, who had a Commission in the R.A.M.C., had a versatile record. Before he was a medical officer, he was engaged at the War Office in research in ballistics, and after the war he was Reader in Genetics at London University. Dr W. Stark, who served in the Intelligence Corps, was a lecturer in Sociology at Edinburgh University. Dr W. Ullmann, who passed from a Pioneer Company to the Royal Engineers, has become a lecturer in History at Cambridge. Dr B. H. Neumann, who was in the Signals, was lecturer in Mathematics at Manchester University. Dr K. Spalding (with many others he had to change his German name when he went with the invading army), before and after the war a lecturer at Birmingham University, was transferred from the Pioneer Corps to the Department of Psychological Warfare to be Editor of a German news-sheet for the occupied territories, and then, during the first years of Allied control, Director of a school for training German journalists. Dr R. A. Samuel before the war lectured on Germany in Cambridge, joined the Pioneer Corps in 1940, was seconded to Intelligence work, and in 1946 became a Lecturer in Melbourne University.

One of the larger groups of war refugees in England, the Poles, included a number of university teachers. Hospitality for the continuation of their academic work was extended by British

universities to the Polish teachers and Polish students. A Polish medical school and a veterinary college were formed in Edinburgh, and a Polish law school, independent and autonomous, at Oxford. There they remained till the end of the war. It has been a residuary academic problem of the post-war settlement to find a place for some of these academic teachers who are unwilling to return to their native land. A few have been placed overseas. For example, a Lecturer in Zoology, formerly of Poznan University, has been appointed to Gordon College, Khartoum. Canada has been a haven for a few. Professor A. Fiedler, formerly of the Polish Medical College at Edinburgh, is Head of the Department of Medicine at Ottawa University; and B. Zaborski, formerly on the staff of the Polish Government in Exile, is Professor of Geography at McGill University.

A temporary academic enterprise for another group of war refugees was the establishment of a medical department for Czech students who had done part of their medical studies before they came with the remnant of the Czech Army. That school did its work in Bristol.

The total number of academic refugees, including the war-influx, registered with the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning, was 2541. That is nearly double the figure of such refugees who were registered in 1935. Rather more than half came from Germany, the rest were derived from half-a-dozen European countries. With the exception of a few hundreds, this large body of scholars and scientists before or during the war managed to get to a country of refuge. Most of those who fled from France, Italy, the Low Countries, Denmark and Norway returned to their native lands as soon as deliverance was achieved. But the great majority of the refugees from Nazi persecution in Germany and Austria have been integrated into the learned society of the countries of refuge. In England the 'reception' has given us over 600, in the United States the figure is a little higher. Palestine, in 1946, had 67; but since then the number has been considerably increased. Of the 100 who were placed in Turkey in 1933 and the following years about half remained at the end of the war; but the number has steadily diminished, by the continuing passage to America and other countries when their temporary engagements expired.

Many of the scholars and scientists who came then to England for refuge did not stay there permanently, but moved to another academic home. Some were attracted by the large possibilities of research and the more generous terms offered in the United States. Others found opportunity in the universities of the British Commonwealth. Mobility within the English-speaking countries has been a peculiar and valuable feature of the scholars' migration.

The Spanish exiles have for the most part found a permanent home in Mexico. Each of the South American countries has its contingent of the exodus; and altogether 80 are placed there. The S.P.S.L. helped many of them to arrange their journey. In the British Dominions Canada takes the first place with 32; Australia has 23, New Zealand 5, while South Africa, more nationalist than the others, only one. There is scarcely a University in the Commonwealth — except in South Africa — which has not today at least one professor or lecturer who was a displaced scholar. India and the new States of the Middle East have played their part. As we shall see, the Asiatic States are taking a larger proportion of new groups of displaced scholars, the flotsam of the wrecked universities of Central, Northern and Eastern Europe, thrown up by the tides of the Second World War. It is the singular, and perhaps the most significant, feature of this 20th century migration of scholars that it has brought a fructifying influence to every country in the world and to every discipline of knowledge and science.

It would be giving an inaccurate impression, indeed, to represent that the transition from German scholar or research worker to teacher in a British or American or other University was always easy. As for the exiled Dante, the new life, 'Vita Nuova', was for many a hard and painful experience. In a debate in the House of Commons during the war, on the absorption of refugees in England, a member pointed out: "What it meant for eminent men of Science who have come to a strange country to maintain a dreary existence of life in a bed-sitting room, with nothing to do but to go to a lecture once a week." They must have repeated Dante's words: "Thou shalt prove how salt is the taste of other man's bread, and how hard a path it is to go up and down another's stairs." They longed for the day "when I may not remove or be removed." Yet, taken all in all, the warmth

of the welcome which they had from their colleagues in learning, and the steadfast efforts which were made for their permanent settlement were gratefully recognised. It was an admirable feature of the English effort in particular that it was free from the taint of relief or charity. It was a contribution of academic scholars for academic scholars, the pursuit of common interests of science and learning, benefiting both the receptor and the recipient, and expressing the fellowship of science and learning.

Chapter IV

GROUP RESCUE

Among the most fruitful efforts of rescue was the transfer from Germany to other countries of a school or institute of research, or the migration of a number of teachers to one University, so that as a group they could continue their collective contribution in a new and free setting. There were five remarkable movements of that kind. (1) The placing of over 100 scientists and scholars in the University of Istanbul, and in the University and scientific Institutes at Turkish Ankara; (2) The bodily transfer of the library, the equipment, the scholars and technical staff of the Warburg Institute from Hamburg to London; (3) The establishment of "The University in Exile" as a department of the New School for Social Research in New York. (4) The development of Institutes of Advanced Studies in Princeton and in Dublin. (5) The placing in Palestine, in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, the Daniel Sieff Research Institute at Rehoboth, and the Herzlia Technical Institute at Haifa, of over one hundred scholars and academic teachers and research workers.

a THE WARBURG INSTITUTE, LONDON

It is proposed to deal first with the Warburg Institute because that movement most affected this country. It is a romantic story, a signal example of generosity and vision of the English academic society, that has brought a rich reward.

The Institute was started in Hamburg originally as a private Library by Mr Aby M. Warburg, who had a conviction that the period of the Renaissance was of outstanding significance for European civilisation. He made it his life-work to collect books and photographs which recorded the tracing of Greek and Roman traditions, from every aspect, in the life and thought and art of

the European peoples. He was concerned also to study the spell of antiquity in those less-known fields "where the Pagan temperament breaks forth in violent gestures, in dramatic rituals, and enraptured dances." This interest embraced Astrology, Magic, legends and popular customs as well as Classical Art and Literature. A member of a family of famous Jewish bankers at Hamburg, he gave up all his interest and activity in the banking firm to devote himself to this child of his brain. For years it was the working tool of an individual scholar of unusual vision; but in 1912 he brought to Hamburg from Vienna Dr F. Saxl, who was a master scholar of the relation of Classical Humanism to the Art of the Renaissance. After the first world war Saxl, who had fought with the Austrian army, returned to Hamburg, and transformed an enthusiast's hobby into an academic institution. With Warburg he built up a workshop library of 70,000 books and a unique collection of photographs illustrating the chosen theme. They arranged courses of lectures by distinguished scholars of many countries, and initiated a series of learned publications in Latin, German, Italian, French and English. They enlisted permanently in the work a few scholars, among them Dr Gertrud Bing, who was then the Librarian. In the middle Twenties the Warburg Library developed into an unofficial adjunct to the newly-founded University of the Free City of Hamburg. Legally, however, it remained a private "Stiftung". Aby Warburg died in 1929, and the Institute was maintained as heretofore by members of his family. Dr Saxl was its Director, and carried it on according to the spirit of its founder.

By fortunate chance the theme of the lectures at the Institute given in 1930 was the relation of English thought to Antiquity; and amongst the lecturers were Professor Jacob, the mediaeval historian of Oxford, and Sir Richard Livingstone, a lifelong champion of Greek Studies in England. That chance turned the attention of the directors of the Institute to England, when, in the following years, the shadow of Nazi frenzy and obscurantism began to darken the academic horizon in Germany. Already in 1932, shortly before Hitler came to full power, Dr Saxl had formed a clear judgment that the Institute must be transferred to a cleaner and less poisoned atmosphere. The first suggestion was the U.S.A., where a brother of Aby Warburg was the head

of the family and a celebrated patron of all the Arts. There was not an immediate response by him; and overtures made in Italy and Holland also dallied. Then in 1933, when the crisis burst in all its savagery, Saxl came to England. There the academic world had responded immediately to the call for solidarity in defence of freedom of thought.

Opportunely, too, a fresh and lively interest in the history of art was stirred in England at this time through the generous endowment of Samuel Courtauld. The Director of the Courtauld Institute, Professor Constable, had been deeply impressed by the Warburg Foundation. So was Sir Denison Ross, the genial Principal of the London School of Oriental Studies. Professor C. S. Gibson, the Honorary Secretary of the Academic Assistance Council which had just been formed in England, came with Professor Constable to Hamburg to examine the possibilities of the transfer of the Library and its staff. Lord Lee of Fareham, a member of the Council of the Courtauld Institute, was persuaded that action should be taken at once; and in his dynamic way action followed, quick and decisive. Samuel Courtauld himself made a generous gift for three years, which, with the contribution of the Warburg family, would enable the Institute to carry on its full activity in London. He and his advisers realised that the two Institutes, approaching the history of Art from different aspects, would complement each other. The one was concerned with Art in and for itself; the other with the relation of Art to Religion, to the intellectual background, the surrounding social and political circumstances in which the Art was developed, and the 'social memory', by which the cultural ideas of one period appear at a later time as symbols.

Another benefactor of vision, the second Lord Melchett, who was a Director of Imperial Chemical Industries, induced his Board to provide a home for the Institute in Thames House, Westminster. There an ideal asylum was found for the Institute in the first three years of its transmigration. It was fortunate that the decision of the transfer was made right early. The full ruthlessness of Nazi persecution and spoliation was not yet attained in 1933; and the Senate of Hamburg, in which body vestiges of freedom of thought and regard for cultural values survived, consented to the removal of the private treasure.

Max Warburg, the head of the family in Germany, undertook indeed to keep the house in Hamburg available for the Institute for a period of three years, and to bring it back if conditions would allow of the restoration of free research. He was not called upon to carry out that undertaking; long before 1936 the shadow over Germany had been turned to 'darkness at noon'. By that time the Institute was firmly established in its new English home.

Half-a-dozen scholars and technical experts came with the Library to England, and there they set themselves not only to maintain but to expand its activity. Mr Courtauld, in 1936, renewed, and increased, his benefaction for a further seven years. A Society was formed under the chairmanship of Lord Lee to govern the Institute and assist its integration in British academic life. The members included Professor Constable and Professor Gibson, Sir Richard Livingstone and Sir Denison Ross, Sir Robert Witt, a lawyer and understanding patron of the Arts, who drew up the Constitution of the Society, and two representatives of the Warburg family. The Institute and its Staff were attached to the University of London, but were, and have remained, an autonomous body. Courses of lectures by British, German and French scholars were arranged forthwith. They were attended by British and German students. The publications were continued in the various European languages, but gradually English became dominant. The collections of photographs were enlarged by generous gifts. The value of this new department of learning was widely understood.

It became necessary in 1936 to change the home of the Institute. The authorities of London University, without hesitation, met the challenge and offered the accomodation just vacated by the University Library. In the period of crisis in 1940, when all persons of German origin were suspect, because of the overriding concern for national security, all male scientific and technical workers associated with the Institution, except the Director, had been interned. But they were quickly released, and it was realised that the Institute stood for those values which the Nazis were seeking to destroy and which Britain was defending. Though the study of Art in its relation to classical and mediaeval thought might seem to be an extravagant luxury for a nation which was fighting for its life, in fact the University of London undertook,

in 1943, to take over the whole Institute, and find the means for the unhampered continuation of all its activity. Just before the war the library and the staff moved to a wing of the Imperial Institute in Kensington. And there they carried on tranquilly and imperturbably throughout the war. One of the Librarians indeed was killed by enemy action, but not while working at the Institute. And one valuable piece of war work was done by the expert photographers of the Institute under the supervision of one of its scholars. They were part of the staff which made the photographic record of National buildings. The Library and all its appurtenances came out of the war unscathed, and are an integral part of the University of London.

Since the war the Warburg Institute has steadily grown in the number of its staff, the scope of its activities and its part in English academic society. Its first Director, Dr Saxl, graded as a Professor and elected Fellow of the British Academy, died in 1948, and he was succeeded by Professor H. Frankfort, an alien but not a refugee, who had filled the Chair of Oriental Archaeology at Chicago. Dr Bing has been throughout the Assistant Director and Chief Librarian. Dr R. Wittkower, the Curator of the photographic collections, was appointed to a Chair of the History of Art at University College, London. Dr H. Buchthal was appointed a Reader of London University, and lectured on Art and mediaeval thought in Colleges of the University. One of the lecturers, a displaced art-historian from Austria, E. H. Gombrich, became in 1950, Slade Professor of Art at Oxford University. A refugee art-historian, Dr N. Pevsner, became in the previous year Slade Professor at Cambridge.

A feature of recent years has been the increasing number of English members of the staff and of English students at the Warburg Institute. Almost the whole of the administrative work is now done by English men and women. At the same time, the international character of the Institute is fully preserved, and its Library in London has become a Mecca for students of European civilisation from all parts of the world. For nowhere is there in equally concentrated and spacious arrangement facility for the special branches of historical and Art study. The influence of this private collection on knowledge and thought is far-reaching. It is one of the major factors which has made the teaching of the

history of Art in England not only an academic but a school subject, and has turned bright amateurs into scholarly experts.

One other transfer of a library from Germany to England has affected, and will in the future continue to affect, the appreciation of Art in this Country. That is the export of the Hirsch Music Library from Frankfurt to England. Paul Hirsch, like Aby Warburg, was a Jew, and he realised in time that the library to which he had given his life would be despoiled if it remained in his native land. He brought it to England, and for ten years, from 1936, it had a home in the Library of Cambridge University. Then it was bought for the nation by the Government, with the help of a generous grant of the Pilgrim Trust. It was the most complete private musical library, with over 15,000 volumes and pieces, and it contains, among other treasures, many rarities of Mozart literature, an opera of Purcell with annotations in his own handwriting, the only known copy of the first issue of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, and most of the operatic scores from the early 17th century to the present day. With this addition the musical collection of the British Museum forms the most comprehensive record of music in the world; and many of the books on music which were lost to the Museum during the war by enemy action are replaced by books in the Hirsch collection. Hirsch himself died in England in 1951.

A library and institute of a different kind, which was removed to England as a unit, is the Wiener Library and the Jewish Central Information Office. It was originally designed, at the outset of the Hitler persecution, by a scholarly officer of the Jewish community in Germany, Realising the threat of National Socialism and Antisemitism, he set himself to get together all the books, periodicals and documents which threw light on the Nazi racial and political ideals, and then reaching out beyond that limited aim, to make the library embrace Central-European history, the rise of Fascism and racial discrimination, and the history of the Jewish people in all its aspects. The first home was in Amsterdam. After the Nazi occupation of Prague in March 1939, with a just prescience that Nazi aggression threatened Holland, Dr Wiener and the leaders of the Dutch community arranged for the transfer of the collection to London. The institute opened its London premises in Manchester Square on September

1st, 1939, the very day of the German invasion of Poland. Dr Wiener himself came with it. There it has remained, and has become a unique depository of every book and publication which bears on the rise and fall of the Nazi revolution. During the world war it was a valuable arsenal of facts for the British Ministry of Information, and was largely maintained by government grants. Since the war it has been maintained by Jewish bodies and individuals as an institute of research. It issues a bulletin and a number of special publications dealing with different aspects of National Socialism.

b THE NEW SCHOOL OF SOCIAL RESEARCH, NEW YORK

The most striking and successful American enterprise for the displaced scholars was the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science. It was created in 1934 as a department of the New School for Social Research in New York, an Institute of University status. It was at once a response to the challenge in Nazi Germany to academic liberty, and an attempt to set up in America a University Faculty which should carry forward the best traditions of German university life. It was designed not to compete with other American institutions, but as a complement to them, to give a specialised training to graduates.

The New School was created in 1919, at the end of the first World War, as a protest against academic tyranny. Its Graduate Faculty came into being, fifteen years later, as a protest against state tyranny and racial barbarity. The first Director of the New School, Professor Alvin Johnson, was a man of large vision, and sensitive to the changing demands of the intellectual world in the Social Sciences. Before he entered academic life he had been a farmer in Nebraska, and he came to New York as an Editor of the "New Republic" and one of the Editors of the "Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences". He realised the opportunity of preserving the creative activity of German and other foreign scholars in America as a group working in the economic and social sciences, so that they should not be isolated units in a strange environment. Europe's loss was America's opportunity.

Johnson convinced a Jewish friend and got from him the means of establishing the Faculty. Then he gathered some twenty scholars and men who had been prominent in the public life of

Germany, an Italian Professor of Legal Philosophy, and one woman professor from Berlin. They constituted the Faculty. The Dean, Emil Lederer, had been professor of Economics at Heidelberg and Berlin, and a visiting professor at Universities in China and Japan.

It was a distinctive character of the Faculty that many of its members were not only learned teachers and writers of learned books, but had practical experience in political and social life. Professor Brecht had been a member of the German Senate, Professor Heimann from the University of Hamburg had been secretary of the German Reparations Commission and one of the founders of the movement of Ethical Socialism. Professor Hans Simons, a teacher of International Law and future President of the School, had been the general secretary of the League of Nations Union in Germany, and a high official in the Prussian Ministry of the Interior.

The Graduate Faculty organised two kinds of courses; the first was for graduates, the second open to all students. It attracted some hundreds of students, the majority working for advanced degrees. During the world war members of the Faculty were able to render expert service to the American Forces. Professor Brandt, who came from the Agricultural College in Berlin, returning to his native country in a new capacity, was the Economic Adviser on Food and Agriculture to the U.S. Military Government in Germany in 1945 and 1946. Professor Colm, an Economist, originally of Kiel University, was an expert of the United States Department of Commerce, 1939–40, and later adviser on Currency to their Military Government in Germany.

The Faculty was greatly expanded when a fresh challenge to academic freedom came in 1940 with the German occupation of Western Europe, and with it a fresh expulsion of academic teachers. Alvin Johnson perceived the need of a new effort, and prevailing on the Rockefeller Foundation to make an extraordinary grant, was enabled to bring to the New School and its Graduate Faculty many more professors and lecturers from France, Belgium, Holland and the Scandinavian countries.

In the crisis of the War the School rescued altogether 167 scholars and their families, and it brought into being a large academic offspring. The Graduate Faculty itself has remained

a permanent institution of American University life. It is no longer a 'University in Exile' but an integral part of the New School. The School's third President, following Alvin Johnson and another scholar of Scandinavian origin, is Professor Hans Simons, one of the exiles who went back to Germany, after the end of the war, for some years to be chief of a branch of the Military Government, returned to the School in 1949, and was appointed President in the following year.

During the war a group of academic institutions was called into being in the New World to redress the eclipse in the old world. The gathering in America of distinguished academic refugees from the Universities of France and Belgium, some Jewish, some "non-Aryan", some refugees for freedom's sake, prompted the addition to the New School of the École Libre des Hautes Études.

A French-speaking Academy, as its title indicates, it was during the dark years of the war the only functioning free French University; and was described also as the first Franco-Belgian University. A decree of February 1942, issued in London by the French National Committee represented by René Cassin, himself a refugee professor, and then Commissioner for Justice and Education in the Cabinet of de Gaulle, gave to the diplomas and degrees conferred by the School in New York the validity of French University Diplomas for all purposes.

It embraced several Faculties and several institutes of higher studies; in the primary place the Faculty of Letters and Arts, then of Law and Political Science, and then of the Natural and Physical Sciences. Later an Institute of Oriental and Slavonic Studies and an Institute of Comparative Law, and lastly in 1949, an Institute of World Affairs in the French language were formed. The last Institute for teaching and research was created after the establishment of the United Nations, especially for its officers and for persons preparing for the International Civil Service. It organised systematic courses on international and constitutional law in French.

The Faculty of Letters in 1943 had thirty professors. The first President was Professor Foucillon, an authority on Art, and he was followed by the religious philosopher, Jacques Maritain. The Faculty of Law and Political Science had as its first Dean

the Belgian ex-Premier, Paul von Zeeland. The first Dean of the Faculty of Science was the Nobel prizeman, Jean Perrin, who had been the champion of the refugee scholars in France; (see above. p. 16) and he was followed by the veteran Professor Hadamard, formerly of the Faculty of Mathematics at the Sorbonne. The Head of the Institute of Comparative Law, and later Director of the Institute of International Studies, was B. Mirkine-Guetzevitch, who in Paris had been Professor at a School of International Studies.

The School offered a wide selection of courses in French. It was responsible also for the publication of scholarly and artistic reviews. "Renaissance", the "Gazette des Beaux Arts" — founded in Paris in 1859 — was continued in New York since 1942; and "Byzantion", an international journal of Byzantine Studies, was edited by the exiled Belgian Professor Henri Gregoire. The Institute of Oriental and Slavonic Studies published an Armenian Quarterly and an Annual devoted to Oriental and Slavonic Philology and History.

The École Libre des Hautes Études from the outset aimed at linking permanently French and 'Latin' scholarship with the American University world. It was consciously a step to the unification of learning in both hemispheres. The arrival of migrant scholars from France and Belgium, and in smaller number from other countries of Western Europe, gave opportunity of renewing that cultural link which had been fashioned when the United States, with French help, became an independent nation. Though the majority of the foreign scholars and scientists returned to Europe at the end of the war, a residue remained in America, and provided a nucleus for a permanent institution, which is part of the University of the State of New York, and is at the same time a corner of France. They have, too, formed learned autonomous societies for the study of the history of the French Revolution and French culture, which gather together the American scholars in these fields of learning with those who came originally as refugees from Western Europe.

They are closely linked with societies in Paris, and produce a French literature on their subject. The forcible teaching of war then has left its impress on an American academic enterprise which expresses the ideals of Western civilisation.

An enterprise comparable with the University in Exile in New York was the establishment by the Universities of Mexico of a College of Mexico in Mexico City to provide for part of the large number of refugees from the Universities of Spain who were invited to the oldest State of Spanish America. It has remained as a permanent institution. The members of the College are engaged partly in research, partly in giving post-graduate courses.

c INSTITUTES OF ADVANCED STUDIES: PRINCETON & DUBLIN

The Institute of Advanced Study at Princeton was conceived by a famous American University administrator, Dr Abraham Flexner, a few years before Nazi tyranny disintegrated German academic life. His idea was to advance the frontiers of knowledge by creating in America facilities for easy-going academic contact between younger men who had passed the first stage of research and the supreme masters of their branch of scholarship and science. In the golden days of German scholarship these facilities had been one of the characteristic virtues. Flexner, like Johnson, won for his idea a wealthy Jewish family with vision; and with the ample endowment which they gave the Institute was opened in 1930 at Princeton. The first subjects of advanced study were mathematics and physics. Later a School of Political Economy, and later again a School of Humanities and Art, were added.

The Institute should be a place of leisure on the one hand for the older masters, and on the other a place of research in leisure for younger men and women who were making their mark. Providentially, as it seemed, Professor Albert Einstein was ready in 1932, when Flexner visited Germany, to consider an invitation. He had sensed the storm which would make it impossible for him to pursue his thinking quietly in Germany. In the following year, after the storm burst, he agreed to go to Princeton, and his presence gave the Institute at once an outstanding place in the academic world. Two refugees from Germany headed the Humanities section, Ervin Panofsky and Ernst Herzfeld, both of them masters of Art History. Another exile from Germany, Otto Nathan, was in the Section of Political Economy. The Institute at Princeton was able in the following years to offer a haven to some scores of displaced scholars who eagerly began their academic life once more in the New World.

Similar in character and design to the Princeton Institute was the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies which sprang from the brain of De Valera, Premier of Eire, and was constituted by an Act of the Irish Dail of November 1940. Originally it contained two schools, of Celtic studies and of Theoretical Physics; some years later in 1947, another school was established, of Cosmic Physics, which included Astronomy, Astro-physics, Cosmic rays and Meteorology. The idea of a haven for exiled scholars was a motive of the creation. The Nobel prizeman E. Schrödinger, from Austria, was one of the original professors of the school of Theoretical Physics. Professor Walter Heitler from Germany, who became a naturalised Irish citizen, was another. He resigned his Chair in 1949 to take a position in the Technical University of Zürich.

Among the scholars were Friedrich Mautner from Austria, who went on to the Institute of Advanced Studies in Princeton: and a Greek refugee, A. Papapetrou, who later had a fellowship at Manchester. Two of the professors in the school of Cosmic Physics were Leo Pollak, a Czech, who, like Heitler, was naturalised in Eire, and Professor Hermann Bruck, formerly astronomer in Cambridge and today Director of the Observatory in Dublin.

d TURKISH UNIVERSITIES

In the Spring of 1933, the Turkish Government, then under the dynamic leadership of Mustapha Kemal, announced its intention of re-organising the University of Istanbul (Constantinople). That was part of the re-orientation, or rather the occidentation, of his Asiatic State towards the West of Europe. It was an unexpected conjuncture for the displaced scholars of Germany. The Ottoman Empire had for a generation been in close touch with Germany: its principal military officers had been trained there, and German influence was strong in its political and economic life. So the Government of the new Ottoman Republic was responsive to the opportunity of manning its principal University, which should play a directing part in the modernising process, with eminent German scholars who were unexpectedly available. Professor Philipp Schwartz, who had been Professor of Pathology at Frankfurt University, and was one of the founders of the Notgemeinschaft (see p. 17), went to negotiate in Switzer-

land with the Turkish Minister of Education and with Professor Malche, of Geneva, the Swiss expert adviser on the reorganisation of the University in the former Turkish Capital.

In June they went to Ankara, carried through the negotiations, and drew up a list of thirty professors who should be appointed. Professor Schwartz received full power to enter into contracts, with an undertaking to bring to Ankara a definite list of the candidates within three weeks. He kept that undertaking. The Turkish Parliament dissolved the old High School, and resolved to establish in its place a modern University with five Faculties. By October all the appointments were completed; and on the 1st November the Turkish and German Professors, and their assistants, many of them foreigners also, took part in the opening of the new University, "Istambul Universitesi", feeling that they were engaged in a unique experiment.

Some fifty Germans were appointed, most for a five year period, and with the condition that they should acquire the Turkish language. The University of Istambul, in the thirties of the 20th Century, could be compared with the University of Paris in the Middle Ages, when, it is said, not a single one of the famous professors was French.

In the following years Turkey received almost as many again displaced scholars, scientists and medical doctors, who were appointed either to the University or Institutes of Research at Ankara, the new Capital, or other parts of the State. The inauguration of the University in Istambul was the first step in a series of reforms which in a few years was to exercise deep influence on the Turkish nation. The Government appointed a corporate body for scientific organisation, the development of Industry and Agriculture, and the exploitation of mineral wealth and water power. The "Brains Trust" included experts for communications and for labour legislation. Professor Schwartz was commissioned by the then Minister of Commerce, Djalal Bayar, — later President of the Republic — to work out the programme and appoint a number of Germans. At the same time, a group of former German professors was appointed to the Hospital of Ankara, and after a few years was the nucleus of a Medical Faculty. Architects, artists and musicians, were brought to create High-Schools of the Arts; among them Carl Ebert, the

conductor and composer, who was later to gain fame in Glyndebourne and Edinburgh. Difficulties there were of integration and assimilation of the large foreign body in the intellectual life of the country. Many of those first appointed could not adjust themselves to the differences, or acquire adequately a new and difficult language of teaching; and they left Turkey when their contract ended, and some of them before that. Nevertheless, a proportion took root, and stayed for a second and third term, and a residue remained in the country.

Professor Schwartz, reflecting on the story after eighteen years, has written: "The hopes that were bound up with the foundation of the new Universities have not been fulfilled in every aspect. Nevertheless, all of us foreign and Turkish professors, who collaborated in so many new cultural Institutes of the Republic, must be content. We have been able to remain loyal to the spirit which is the foundation of modern civilisation and humane feeling, and to impart that spirit, even in these dark days of history, to thousands of gifted young persons.

"Happy are we who could carry on our work uncompromisingly, and happy the people whose leaders opened the doors to productive men compelled to leave their former place of work for grotesque reasons."

We may remember that, 450 years earlier, an Ottoman Sultan had given asylum to another group of — Jewish — exiles, driven from Spain by religious persecution, and enriched his own realm, while the realm of the persecutors was impoverished.

The lists of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning reveal the names of many who found a temporary intellectual home in Turkey. Thus in the field of Biology the head of an Agricultural Station at Smyrna, and the professors of Botany and Plant Physiology at Istanbul; a professor of Chemistry at Istanbul, and the head of the Institute of Chemical Technology at Ankara. In Economics not less than ten German scholars, of whom several were experts in Agricultural Marketing. In Engineering an expert in steel construction, and another in Architecture and Town-Planning, were advisers to the Turkish Government. The position was the same in the Faculties of the Humanities and Law. In the field of the local culture an expert Assyriologist, an expert on the history of Islam, and another

Oriental philologist were appointed. That there should be several German doctors in the Medical Faculty was natural: and the Professor of Dentistry at Istanbul for the better part of twenty years was Professor A. Kantorowicz, originally of Bonn, now again at that University.

The majority of the Germans were not wanted once their Turkish assistants had learned enough to lecture or had claims to be Professor. Some of the technicians and some of the scientists and medical heads remained. So did the Professor of Philosophy and the Professor of German Literature. But the contracts of the masters of Oriental Languages, whether modern Chinese or Ancient Hittite, were not renewed.

Some have had a hard experience; unable to continue in an academic post in Turkey, and unable to get an academic appointment elsewhere, they have had to take to one commercial activity or another. In recent years, however, new posts have been established, and fresh foreign Professors have been appointed. By an ironical turn of history's wheel, some who had worked fifteen years in Turkish Institutes have returned to Germany, while other Germans, who lost their Chairs at German Universities in the post-war purge, because of their conduct in the Hitler regime, have been appointed to Chairs in Turkey.

e PALESTINE

Palestine was designated, as if by Providence, to be one of the countries where many academic and intellectual refugees would find a home. For a large majority of them were Jews, and under the British Mandatory Government the trust for the establishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine was being actively pursued. The Hebrew University of Jerusalem had been opened in 1925, and its founders laid particular emphasis on research. The Technical Institute of Haifa had been opened the previous year, and was developing schools of engineering, building and architecture. From the year 1933, an increasing stream of emigration out of Germany to Palestine brought to the country a large proportion of the young Jewish generation. The hope then was strong that the University of Jerusalem and other institutes of higher learning in the land would be able to absorb numbers of the displaced scholars. The greatest Hebrew

poet of the generation, Nahman Bialik, called for a national effort to gather together the eminent Jews of learning and science and not allow another dispersion; and the American-born Chancellor of the University, Dr J. L. Magnes, issued in 1933 a moving appeal to the Jews of the world, and particularly to the large community in the United States, to enable the University to receive a substantial number of the exiles.

The calls on the Jewish people in the free countries to rescue the mass of the Jews from Germany, and to give a fresh opportunity in life to the young generation, were more insistent than the calls to save the intellectual elite. There were, moreover, academic difficulties about the sudden reception in Jerusalem of many scholars and scientists from abroad. The University was an infant. In 1933 it consisted of a small Institute of Jewish Studies, a small Institute of Arabic and Oriental Studies, a few departments of the general Humanities — which together comprised the Faculty of Humanities — and a few small Institutes of the Biological Sciences. Its academic staff did not exceed fifty, its equipment was very limited, its library, though growing rapidly, included less than a quarter of a million books. Its students numbered less than 200. It was, too, a handicap for possible recruits from Germany that the language of the University, used for teaching and for all the meetings of the academic bodies, was Hebrew, which few of them mastered.

Nevertheless, in spite of these handicaps the University attracted in the next years some thirty scholars and scientists from Germany and appointed them to Chairs and lectureships and research posts. It had the financial help not only of Jewish funds but also of English and American academic bodies for the rescue of scholarship and science. And it went on engaging exiled teachers, both before and during the second world war, as it was enabled to open new departments and expand its existing institutes. So, bit by bit, it became, during that war, the greatest refugee University in the world, rivalling in that character the University of Istanbul. And while many of the Germans at Istanbul were scholars of passage, those appointed to Jerusalem and Haifa had there a permanent home, and became thoroughly integrated into the life of the country.

The Technical Institute of Haifa appointed a smaller number

of the displaced teachers, but there too the reception was continuous. And a new creation established by Dr Weizmann for chemical research in 1934, was from the outset manned almost entirely by refugee scientists. Appropriately it was opened by Professor Richard Willstätter, an eminent German chemist and Nobel Prizewinner, who had resigned his Chair at Munich University in 1925, because he felt the growing antisemitic poison. It was directed by David Bergmann, whom Weizmann brought to London in 1933 from the chemistry laboratories of the University of Berlin. The Sieff Institute, like the Hebrew University, has grown rapidly. It is merged to-day in a larger Weizmann Institute for Science which has gathered scientists for basic research; most of them men and women displaced from Europe. Over its gate is the inscription: "Work for the Country; work for Science; work for Humanity".

The Hebrew University has received exiles from many countries that fell under the Nazi persecution of free learning, from Italy, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Hungary as well as from Germany. The Institute of Jewish Studies has been particularly enriched, since Germany had been a principal centre of those studies throughout the nineteenth century, and it was manifest that the centre must be shifted to Jerusalem. Amongst those who came from Berlin and have made a contribution in Palestine were the late Professor Julius Guttmann, a master of Jewish philosophy, Professor H. Torczyner, (he has now Hebraised his name to Tur Sinai, meaning Mt. Sinai), a master of Hebrew philology, who made a sensational interpretation of inscribed pottery tablets — the Letters of Lachish — unearthed in an archaeological excavation in Judea, and proved them to be a contemporary record of the invasion of Judea by the Babylonians, and J. H. Polotzky, an Egyptologist and master of the Ethiopian languages. From Rome came the late Professor Cassuto, who held the Chair of Bible, and till his death in 1951 was engaged in writing a new commentary on the five books of Moses, and edited a new text of the Hebrew Bible.

Another philosopher from Germany, eminent both in the Jewish and in the general field, was appointed in 1938 to a Chair of Cultural Sociology in Jerusalem. Professor Martin Buber, in the fourteen years that he held that Chair, has

enriched Hebrew and English, as well as German, literature with books of religious philosophy and studies of the sociological experiments in the Jewish National Home.

In the General Humanities Professor Koebner from Breslau fills the Chair of Modern History; and he, too, has enriched English historical literature from Jerusalem, and has edited in Hebrew H.A.L. Fisher's History of Europe. Professor Tscherikower from Berlin holds the Chair of Ancient History, and has made a contribution to scholarship by his editions of Hellenistic papyri.

In the Faculty of Science the Hebrew University appointed two brothers Farkas, originally from Hungary, and workers in the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute in Berlin, to form the Department of Physical Chemistry. The younger, Dr L. Farkas, during the war was the Secretary of the Palestine Government's Council of Scientific Research and did valuable service for war industry. He was tragically killed in an air crash in 1947.

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem maintained during the world crisis scientific and scholarly research as a principal activity. In a statement about the University issued by leaders of science and learning in England in 1941, it was said: "During the war the work done by its chemists, physicists, biologists and by its medical department has been an increasingly important factor in developing and maintaining the economic stability and the health of the countries of the Middle East. In the work of all its schools it has had the co-operation of first-rate Jewish scholars and men of science, who, exiled from Europe, have found a haven within its walls. Here with their colleagues they help to keep the quickening flame of science and scholarship burning clear and free in the Orient, while the lamps are put out in the countries of Europe."

The Medical Faculty, which has grown in stages from a small Institute of Bacteriology, through a post-graduate prefaculty, to a teaching school of Medicine, has received a few men of wide reputation driven from Germany. They include Professor Bernhard Zondek, the Gynaecologist, who was for a time in Manchester and Sweden before he came to Jerusalem; his brother, Hermann Zondek, specialist in internal medicine, Professors Halberstaedter and Doljanski who directed a department for

cancer research. The latter was killed by Arabs in a deplorable incident in April 1948, shortly before the end of the British Administration. He was in a convoy of doctors, scientists, nurses and students going from the city to the University Hospital and ambushed by Arab bands on the road; and besides him half a dozen academic members of the University, including three refugees from Germany, were killed.

The scientists and the research workers of the Hebrew University and of the Sieff Research Institute, most of them refugees, played a valuable part in the Middle East theatre of the war. On the one hand, they found ways of developing the natural resources of those countries, so as to make them more independent of imports from Europe and America at a time when transport was strained; on the other, they helped to maintain the health of the armies by providing quantities of serum for protective inoculation against diseases, and by novel methods of treating wounds. The department of physics at the University and at the Technical Institute at Haifa, manned likewise by displaced scientists, assisted the Allied Air Forces by the manufacture and repair of precision instruments when that work could not be done anywhere else in the Middle East. It was scientific justice that exiles from the Nazi lands, excluded as "The Jewish Evil" and the exponents of "abstract mathematical junk", should help to defeat the Nazi invasion of the Middle East, which, had it succeeded, would have destroyed the Jewish home. Sir Henry Dale, then President of the Royal Society, pointed out in 1944, that, although research at the University had for the time been devoted to the immediate purposes of war, much of the knowledge produced would find its application to the purposes of peace. And that forecast has been found true.

It was hard for refugee scholars from Europe to make their way to Israel during the crisis of the world war; but a few were amongst the boat-loads that escaped from Europe, and being "illegal immigrants" in the eyes of the Government of Palestine, were diverted to Mauritius or to Cyprus, and had to suffer long periods of internment. When at last they reached Palestine after the War, they could be absorbed in the University or Institutes of Research.

Since the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, the

University of Jerusalem and the other Institutes of Higher Learning in the land have attracted an increasing number of displaced scholars and scientists from Europe. Many of them had found a temporary refuge and academic home in Western countries. They have come to Israel, enriched by their experience in the free lands, to take their part in fitting the country to receive the hundreds of thousands of Jews from all parts of the world who are remaking the nation.

Chapter V

WAR-TIME AND POST-WAR RESCUE IN EUROPE

While war checked the work of rescue in most countries of the Continent of Europe, and soon brought an aggravated need for rescue from those countries after their occupation by the Nazis, in the international island of Geneva, set in the precarious but well-defended security of neutral Switserland, the work for the intellectual exiles, initiated in 1933, could go on and expand. The story of the rescue is little known in England, and is worthy of record. The Comité International, which was concerned for the big battalions of displaced members of the free professions, had to close its branches in Paris, Brussels and Amsterdam; and it was handicapped everywhere, during the years 1940–43, in its task of exploring places of settlement. On the other hand, it made a gallant effort to help those refugees, both academic and professional, who managed to cross the frontiers of Switzerland from the Nazi-occupied lands without the requisite papers, and who in the first place were interned by the neutral Swiss Government.

One of these academic refugees from Belgium, Mons. Citroen, who was thus interned, engaged the interest of the Committee, and convinced them that it was a waste of brains on the part of the Swiss authorities to employ the scholars in navvy work in the internment camps. Why should they not have facilities for continuing their study and research in the University of Geneva, or in one of the Institutes of Higher Studies that flourish in the former centre of the League of Nations? The Committee in turn convinced the Federal and Cantonal Governments. A Geneva citizen offered to lease his mansion a few miles from the city, and the Committee turned it into a retreat or college for a hundred scholars and scientists. The Chateau of Frontenex, from 1944

to 1948, was an asylum and college combined. The inmates pursued their studies, and each year they published a volume, Cahiers de Frontenex, which contained fruits of their work. Several wrote books. The author of the plan himself published a treatise on International Migration, and was to become Director of the department of the International Refugee Organisation 1947–'50 which dealt with intellectual refugees. Some of the Jews went to Israel: one is Director of the Art Museum of Tel-Aviv.

Another beneficent activity of the Comité was to bring for repose and healing to the tranquil towns and villages of Switzerland hundreds of stricken scholars rescued from concentration camps. While part of the up-rooted University teachers became during the war 'intellectual dust', each year the Geneva Committee could record some achievement of salvage. Before the gates of emigration from Europe were closed in 1942, it sent 300 from Europe to the South American States. In 1945, it reopened its offices in Paris and Brussels, and was able to found a new branch in the United States. It placed refugee doctors in Germany and Austria to help in Displaced Persons Camps, and others in South America. In 1946, it settled 200 scholars, most of them in North and South America, others in Palestine, the Belgian Congo and Australia.

A larger enterprise of rescue of intellectuals had its centre in Geneva, after the end of the fighting, when the Allies had to tackle the biggest problem of displaced populations which history has recorded. The Nazis, in their ruthless combing of the occupied countries for their war effort, uprooted over twelve million men, women and children; and among them thousands of academic teachers, research workers and students. They were drawn from an area wider even than the academic refugees who, before and during the war, were the concern of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning. It was apparent that a new international effort on the largest scale was called for to save part — any—how — of this intellectual wreckage for science and scholarship.

It had to be done in the main by an inter-governmental Agency supplied with adequate funds by States, members of the United Nations. But voluntary societies must supplement that effort

by personal and individual help. The new phase of the work for the rescue of Science and Learning was initiated when the vast emergency Relief and Re-habilitation organisation of the United Nations (UNRRA), established in 1944, was succeeded in 1947 by the International Refugee Organisation, with the specific task of repatriating and resettling the million victims of Nazi oppression and uprooting who lingered in the European camps of Displaced Persons. In that great mass some 50,000, or five per cent, belonged to the intellectual professions, and of those some thousands were academic persons. The I.R.O. had its seat in the Palais Wilson at Geneva, the original home of the League of Nations, where Nansen had started international action for refugees from Russia and Turkey at the end of World War I.

In 1946, before the I.R.O. was founded, two enterprises were established to give an opportunity for higher study while the displaced teachers and students in the camps were waiting for permanent resettlement. Among the 300,000 Balts from the three States, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, who were displaced by the Nazis and Communists, were hundreds of professors and thousands of students. A Baltic 'University' was opened at Hamburg in the British Zone, and in the following year transferred to Pinneberg, a suburb of Hamburg; and a Ukrainian University and other institutes of higher learning were opened in the American Zone. The Baltic University in Exile was a remarkable example of democratic organisation. It was set up by the teachers and students themselves, with the help of the British Authorities and UNRRA; and was later assisted by the International Refugee Organisation. It had eight Faculties or departments, Philosophy, Economics and Law, Natural Sciences and Mathematics, Agriculture, Chemistry, Architecture, Mechanical Engineering and Medicine. The international or trinational character was stressed. At the head of each Faculty a Dean and two deputy-Deans represented the three nations. They elected a President and Vice-President of the University and three national Rectors. The student body had a Council composed of five representatives of each national group.

The University started under the most difficult conditions, without equipment and with the slenderest of libraries. The professors had to write in the three Baltic languages textbooks,

which were then mimeographed or photoprinted. For the greater part of the first year the teachers received no salaries, and when salaries were paid, they were the most modest. Teachers and students formed one family, sharing the same conditions of life in overcrowded barracks, and engaged in a common pursuit of knowledge. It was a people's university rather than an academy of learning and research, and was later renamed, more appropriately, a Study Centre. But it rendered the valuable service of providing higher education for hundreds of young men and women, and saving them from the degeneration of enforced idleness and despair in the refugee camps.

As the resettlement of refugees from the camps was carried out by UNRRA and I.R.O. — in Britain by the operation Westward Ho, in the United States, Latin America and Australia — the number of teachers and students in the Baltic University steadily shrank. Economy, too, compelled the drastic reduction of the number of salaried professors, which fell from 145 in May 1948, to 33 a year later. Altogether 2,000 students studied for a shorter or longer term. The number of teachers was disproportionately high, nearly 200; teaching was a means of saving them from stagnation.

A few of the teachers found their place later in British Universities and Institutes. A mission appointed by the British University Vice-Chancellors visited the camps and the University in Exile, and drew up a list of those who had served in Universities or in professions for which a University training was appropriate. The list, which included 49 University and 28 other teachers, 20 technologists, etc., was published by the Universities Bureau of the British Empire and circulated to all the British nations.

In the American Zone a group of Institutes of the Ukrainians was formed in Bavaria. A technical College in Exile, with three Faculties, Agriculture, Chemistry and Economics, formerly established in Prague, resumed its work in Regensburg, and was recognised as an Institute of University standing. It flourished for five years, and had 180 teachers and 1,300 students. A Ukrainian College of Economics was founded at Munich in 1945, to meet the need of hundreds of University students who had begun their studies before or during the war. Finally a free University

was renewed in Munich with Faculties of Philosophy, Law, and Economics, and two Theological Seminaries, for Catholic and Orthodox Priests respectively, were founded in Munich in 1946.

Two years after the end of hostilities in Europe, yet another problem of displaced scholars was forced on the hard-pressed Western academic world. It arose out of a new assault on freedom of thought and speech and teaching in the Universities of East European States that came under Communist domination: Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary, Yugoslavia.

The Geneva Committee, (renamed after the war "The International Committee for Aid to Intellectuals"), had dealt during its first twelve years of activity, 1933–45, with some 10,000 intellectuals of Western Europe, and helped them in one way or another to restart life. Courageously it set itself in 1947 to do something for this fresh problem of intellectual refugees arriving in Western Europe from Eastern Europe. The new ranks of the displaced were men and women driven by the fear of political persecution or of conditions in their native countries which would make it impossible to carry on independent intellectual work. Most of them left their countries illegally, and entered illegally the country of refuge, without means and without friends. The Committee had to distribute its help between three categories: the pre-war intellectuals, the displaced persons of the war, and the post-war refugees. Clearly it could only bring effective help to a few, and place a fraction of those who were homeless. But the virtue of working for the single instance was again recognised. The Committee extended its contacts, and spread its tentacles to many countries. And the International Refugee Organisation of the United Nations, with its Headquarters in Geneva, formed a department for the settlement of the "Forgotten Elite", and appointed its agents in more than a score of the States of the United Nations. The two bodies, one governmental, the other non-governmental, worked in close co-operation.

Most of the scholars, intellectuals and artists were not acceptable to the Government selection missions, who preferred "solid arms and weak heads." Yet they might become useful members of new countries if it were possible to discover the right place for them. The I.R.O. had learnt, from the experience of the Socie-

ty for the Protection of Science and Learning and kindred bodies, the need for examining and placing individually the scholars and scientists who might otherwise be lost in the refugee mass. Its department for the "Forgotten Elite" accepted the idea of "one world" of learning and science. Every country was diligently searched for prospects of employment of the displaced talents. An experiment was carried out which had no precedent in the story of international migration.

A dozen officials were assigned the task of finding, and then filling, openings in scattered countries with the varied talents which the refugees offered. The Placement Service within less than a year received close on 1,500 applications for experts from States as different as Ethiopia, Chile, and Norway. It drew up also a professional medical register of displaced persons who were qualified, but in most cases had lost with their other material possessions the essential documents. A medical screening board, composed of eminent Professors, Physicians and Surgeons, examined claimants among the D.P.s in Germany, Austria and Italy, and a few in the Middle and Far East. The register with over 4,000 names is a permanent record of the investigation, and each person registered received a certificate of professional status. The large majority have been placed.

A recent historian of I.R.O. * has pointed out that the scattering of the refugee elite will contribute to the spreading of European civilisation, art, and technical knowledge. Countries like the South American Republics and Australia, which hitherto had few contacts with Eastern Europe, have had their eyes opened to new forms of learning and art.

Most of the Universities and Institutes in which these men of science and learning found a fresh start are not in European countries, but in Asia, Africa, Central and South America. The new or less developed States, e.g. Pakistan, Indonesia, Ethiopia, Colombia, Paraguay, and Venezuela, to-day offer an opening to scientists and technicians. Not a few who have been placed had kept their minds sharpened, during the years of waiting in camps, by teaching at the Universities in Exile.

The Geneva Committee contrived to keep alive for new tasks

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* I.R.O. "by R. Richtelhueber, Carnegie Foundation, 1951.

the generous impulses of the intellectual world which were aroused in 1933. It could report in 1950 that during that year it had aided nearly 2,000 persons, assisted 170 to emigrate from Europe, and placed 200 in positions in Europe. Its funds that year amounted to 300,000 dollars (£ 100,000). They were received partly from the Inter-Allied Reparation Fund, partly from the I.R.O. and the Joint Distribution Committee of America, and partly from voluntary contributions. A share of the Reparations Gold recovered by the Allies from Germany was allocated particularly to help the non-Jewish part of the intellectual refugees. The greater part of that gold had been allotted in 1946 to Jewish Organisations for resettlement of Jews in the mass. The large majority of the new homeless scholars, however, were not Jews by race or by religion.

The President of the Committee from 1947–1950, was Odd Nansen, the son of Fritjof Nansen, who had inspired the League of Nations to undertake the rescue of refugees, directed that work, saved countless men and women and children, and left a name to conjure with.

Some of the new flood of academic refugees turned like their predecessors to Western countries, but for the most part found the academic society of those lands saturated and unable to make an effort of integration comparable with the effort in 1933 and 1938. University life had been utterly disrupted in the countries overrun by the Nazis, France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, and Norway, and had to be reconstructed for its own members. Here and there a modest contribution was made in the British Commonwealth. A lady bountiful in Canada, Lady Davis, created in 1948 thirty-six Fellowships for Refugees in Canadian Universities. Of these six were allotted to the Geneva Committee, and those chosen included a geologist, formerly of a Yugoslav University, an archaeologist, a physicist, a professor of literature, an agronomist from Lithuania, and a woman ethnologist from Poland.

The Italian section of the International Comité founded in 1949 a home in Fiesole for 50 scientists or writers liberated from the Italian camps. There they could continue in tranquility their scientific and literary work. When UNESCO held its Annual Conference in 1950 at Florence, it adopted a resolution

that stateless intellectuals should have the same consideration as others. UNESCO indeed since its foundation has had amongst its primary purposes to assist the re-habilitation of academic and intellectual exiles.

The British Society for the Protection of Science & Learning has remained in being, though with much reduced activity. Each year since the war it has placed in Universities or academic institutions a few more of those who were on its register. And it has placed, or assisted, a few special cases from the countries on the other side of the Curtain. It helped, for example, a Czech who had been a teacher in the German University of Prague to spend some months in England which led to his appointment in the University of Tasmania as a Lecturer in Mathematics. It helped a refugee teacher from the University of Warsaw to carry out research for the Air Ministry during the war, and afterwards facilitated his appointment to a Lectureship in Physics in the University of New Zealand. It helped a Hungarian woman scholar to obtain an appointment in a British University.

The Society felt an obligation to provide from its slender funds pensions a few older men who can no longer be active in academic life. Two are over 75 years of age; one of them continues to be active in research work. Another, over 65 years, is writing books. In the summer of 1951 the office of the Society was moved from Cambridge to London. It is now shared with the Society for Visiting Scientists, founded during the world war, and in a sense its own offspring. Since 1950 it lost the help which the British Government gave towards the maintenance of those refugees who were not self-supporting.

Some of the founders of the Society in 1933 are still active in its work. Lord Beveridge is the President, Professor A. V. Hill the Chairman of the Executive Committee, and Dr Redcliffe Salaman is the Treasurer. Its original Hon. Treasurer, Professor Major Greenwood, and one of its original Hon. Secretaries, Professor C. S. Gibson, have died. Its former Secretary, Miss Esther Simpson, who remained on the Executive Committee, has returned to her first function. Walter Adams, who was its first General Secretary, is both Hon. Secretary of the Society and Secretary of the Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies. In the latter capacity he is able from time

to time to help in placing a refugee scholar and scientist in the new University Colleges of the British Commonwealth, in Asia and Africa, where since the end of the world war the torch of learning and science has been carried. We may mention in this connection the appointment of Dr Wachsmann, a musicologist, as the curator of the Museum in Kampala in Uganda, to do research in African-music; Dr J. Rzoska, a zoologist, originally from Poland, to a lectureship at the Gordon Memorial College, Khartoum; and Dr M. Sandmann, a lecturer in Romance Languages, to a Chair in the new University College of the West Indies.

In the years following the war the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning rendered a fresh service to some 400 scholars and scientists who had been appointed to academic and other positions in Great Britain. It assisted them in attaining British naturalisation, for which they applied as soon as they were qualified. A few had acquired British nationality before the outbreak of war checked the normal administrative process of dealing with applications; and a small number were naturalised during the war in the Republic of Eire. The rest had to wait until after 1945; save that a few distinguished scientists were naturalised during the war by a rare exception to the general interdict, because, being engaged in vital war work for the Allies in America, it was desirable to rid them at once of the "enemy alien" status. All the applications sponsored by the Society were granted, and so the Society completed the integration of the migrant brains in the British nation, and eliminated the academic 'refugee'. The permanent intellectual enrichment of the country by the reception is not less remarkable than that brought by the Flemings and the Huguenots in earlier ages.

Here it may be recorded that the children of a number of the academic exiles have already attained academic distinction in Britain, and not seldom in the field in which their fathers were distinguished. Thus the son of Professor W. Simon, who holds the Chair of Chinese in the University of London at the School of Oriental Studies, is also a Lecturer in Chinese at that School. Dr H. Freundlich, a physicist of Cambridge University, is the son of the late Professor Herbert Freundlich, a physical chemist, who passed from a German University through England to a

Chair in the University of Minnesota, and the nephew of Professor E. F. Freundlich, the Astronomer at St. Andrew's University. The son of Professor F. Haymann, who was a Professor of Law in Cologne, was a scholar and Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, before appointment to a Lectureship in Mathematics at University College, Exeter.

The Society in its nineteen years has assisted altogether over 2,000 displaced university teachers and research workers and a still larger number of intellectuals, who were members not of university staffs but of liberal professions. Many received material aid: most were helped to a post. Though its activity has been reduced in recent years, it remains ready to help displaced scholars and scientists who are forced by oppression or denial of academic freedom to leave their post and to find an academic haven. The battle for academic freedom, like the battle for all the fundamental freedoms, is not finally won.

Chapter VI

THE WAR CONTRIBUTION IN ENGLAND

The Home Secretary, Sir Samuel Hoare, speaking in 1939, shortly before the outbreak of war, said: "There is no reason why the world of thought should differ from the world of industry, and why, as a result of wisely directed help to refugee scholars, we should not make this country the intellectual centre of the world." A year later, when Britain was fighting alone against the Nazis, the Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, said: "Since the Germans drove the Jews out of Germany and lowered their (German) technical standards, our science is definitely ahaed of theirs." The story of scientific warfare during the next five years was to justify that judgment, and to give a signal example of the Nemesis which attended the national Hubris of the Nazis.

The aid given by refugee scientists to Britain and the Allied cause was in many fields. But one aspect of the help in scientific research for the war effort which has powerfully touched public imagination is atomic physics. That department of science became a decisive instrument in the last stages of the world war, and afterwards, a decisive factor in the "cold war". It was an irony of fate that, in the period of the world war, not a few of the physicists probing the structure of the atom were not Nordics of the master-race who, in the words of the Nazi professor quoted above*, had "fathomed the depths of reality, seekers after truth", and who alone were considered fit to be academic teachers in German universities, and to pursue research in German institutes. They were the despised "Non-Aryan" members of an inferior race, who "were lacking in an appreciation of truth and had

* See Chapter I p. 3.

debased fundamental Aryan physics." They were hounded from their country and its universities and took their 'inferior' talents elsewhere. The 'Aryan' scientists in Germany at the decisive moment failed to keep the scientific pre-eminence which Germans had enjoyed before the Hitler regime.

It was an astounding chain of circumstances which brought together the exiled brains for a collective effort in the scientific war against the Nazis. In England before the war a group of scientists, under the direction of Lord Rutherford, were experimenting in the structure and distintegration of the atom, or, more correctly, of atomic nuclei. In America, a refugee professor from Italy, E. Fermi, was experimenting at Columbia University in the bombardment of the element Uranium by neutrons. In the Copenhagen laboratory of Professor Niels Bohr, a Nobel Prize-winner for Physics, whose mother was Jewish, parallel experiments were being carried out. To Bohr there came on a visit from Germany an Austrian 'non-Aryan' woman scientist, Lise Meitner, (now Professor at Stockholm), who from 1935 was working with two German physicists in Berlin on the phenomena resulting from the neutron bombardment of Uranium. She continued her work in Germany till 1938, but then had to leave, and came to reside in Scandinavia.

Her nephew, Otto Frisch, was driven in 1933 from the University of Hamburg, where he was a young lecturer in physics. He came to England and was granted by the Academic Assistance Council a Research fellowship at Birkbeck College, London. From 1934 to 1939 he worked at Copenhagen in the laboratories of Niels Bohr; and in the latter part he and Lise Meitner proved by experiment the possibility of liberating enormous energies by the fission of the Atomic nucleus of Uranium. In that same year Bohr visited America to discuss abstract problems with Einstein, and brought the experiments of Meitner and Frisch to the knowledge of Fermi. Then a small group of refugee physicists in America, led by Professor Szilard (mentioned above), convinced the American authorities that the ideas might be useful for military purposes, and started to pursue further research.

When the Nazis planned in 1942 to intern all 'non-Aryans' whom they found in Denmark, Niels Bohr escaped from Copenhagen in the nick of time, and made his way to England. For a

short time he worked there with English and refugee colleagues. In 1943, he accompanied a group of them to America. Frisch, also, who had continued his researches in the fission of the atomic nucleus, went to America with a party of experimental physicists. So the chain was completed.

Frisch is an admirable example of the scientist errant. He came to England from Germany in 1933, and received a research studentship at Birkbeck College of London University. Then he went to Copenhagen to work with Lise Meitner and Professor Bohr. From there he came back to England and worked in turn at Birmingham, Liverpool and Oxford. In the World War he went with the Atomic Research team from England to America. After the war he was for some years at the English experimental station of Harwell; and finally found a permanent resting place as Professor at Cambridge.

It may seem remarkable that the refugee physicists were concentrated on research into atomic energy, and do not appear in connection with research into Radar, except for Professor Katz in Australia *. The reason is that they were excluded, for supposed reasons of security, from the latter department of Wartime Science.

Other refugee scientists in English universities were harnessed to the Anglo-American effort; among them Professor F. A. Paneth, originally from Vienna, of Durham University, whose speciality was Physical Chemistry, Professor F. E. Peierls, who had a Chair at Birmingham in the cognate field of theoretical physics, Professor F. E. Simon, who held a research fellowship at Oxford, and was a specialist in thermo-dynamics, and Dr H. Freundlich, who later became lecturer in the department of radio-therapeutics at Cambridge. They were in the British team that went to Canada in 1943, the year of the "hinge of fate", to carry out researches with American physicists in atomic energy. Other Continental physicists, refugees from Nazi oppression, were in the British team, or worked in the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research of the Ministry of Supply. They included Dr J. Rothblat from Poland, who came to England in 1939, and worked in the laboratory of nuclear physics in Liverpool, Dr R.

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* See Chapter III, p. 34.

Furth, a Czech, who escaped to England in the same year and worked at Edinburgh; Dr N. Kurti, a Hungarian, and Dr H. Kuhn, who worked in the Clarendon Laboratory at Oxford.

The American team, like the English, included refugee physicists who had fled from Nazi or Fascist tyranny. Amongst them were three Nobel Prize-Winners, Otto Stern, Enrico Fermi, and James Franck.

The service of three of the refugee scientists in England were recognised in the Honours List of the New Year 1946. Professors Peierls and Simon were appointed Commanders of the Order of the British Empire, and Professor Frisch an Officer of that Order.

Another link in the chain for the release of atomic energy and the manufacture of the atomic bomb was the use of "heavy water", which „acted as an elastic atomic buffer" *. Amongst the refugee scientists rescued from France in 1940 were two masters of nuclear physics, Hans Halban and Lew Kowarski, who were working at the Collège de France with the eminent French scientist, Professor F. Joliot, and were experimenting with heavy water. In the early months of 1940, before the French collapse, the French Government had acquired a supply of that rare commodity from Norway, just before the Nazi invasion. They had not time to carry out the crucial experiments in Paris when the city and France were threatened. With Joliot's help, Halban and Kowarski escaped to England on a British ship from a port in the Bay of Biscay, and smuggled out the whole stock of the "heavy water," to be used in the interest of the Allies. They got away in one of the last vessels to leave before the Nazi occupation of France; and arriving in England, they were at once given facilities at the Cavendish Laboratory in Cambridge. Two years later, in 1942, Halban went with the British team to Canada, there to lead the research on a larger scale. Kowarski joined him later.

After their occupation of Norway the Germans speeded up the production of heavy water with a view to the manufacture of the atomic bomb. In 1943 a party of Norwegian refugees in England, including university teachers, and directed by a Nor-

* See "Science at War" by J. G. Crowther and R. Whiddington, 1947.

wegian professor of applied chemistry, carried out a daring sabotage raid on Trondjhem and wrecked the German station. Professor L. Tronstad, who directed the wrecking team, was himself killed in a later raid of destruction in 1944. So refugee scientists deprived the Germans of a chance of catching up in the scientific race in which other refugee scientists were helping the Allies to lead.

Europeans, and among them these refugees, gave the theoretical basis of scientific development in the United States before, during and since the world war. The Americans were masters of the technical application of science — what they call the "know-how"; the German and Italian refugees were masters of the theory and research, what might be called the "think-how". The combination of the knowledge of the migrant scholars and the British scientists with the energy and adaptability of the native Americans brought about a wonderful development of applied science in the world crisis. "Technique without theory", it was said, "is like a flower without roots". The combination of theory with technique had an impressive outcome in the war-time development of physics, biochemistry and medicine.

The main exploitation of scientific research for war purposes was carried out in America. The director of the immense laboratories for atomic energy, an American, Dr Robert Oppenheimer, had received a part of his postgraduate training in Germany and European Universities. International and intellectual co-operation achieved one of its epoch-making results, tragically enough, for the purpose of defending civilisation by elemental forces.

The research of other refugee scientists in England, taken from the Universities to help in the war effort, was less sensational, but no less important. Three of them, Dr H. R. Fehling, Dr J. Mazur and Dr P. O. Rosin, were in the team which devised the process for dispersing fog, thereby enormously increasing the safety of Air-Force Squadrons. Two were recipients of the grant made by the British Government to the inventors of FIDO, (that is, Fog Investigation Dispersal Operation.)

Others were engaged in the ingenious device known as PLUTO (that is, Pipe-Line Under the Ocean), for increasing the efficiency of the invading army in France by transporting petroleum across and under the Channel to the invasion beaches. A specialist

in the science of glaciers, Dr M. F. Perutz, was in the team who worked on "Operation Habakkuk" for producing artificial ice air-craft bases in mid-ocean, That scheme had not reached the stage of practical application before the end of the fighting

Alien medical scientists were the largest class of all. Over one hundred were engaged in research, and many hundreds in hospitals and clearing stations. The most famous of the research doctors was E. B. Chain, who worked with Professor Florey in the laboratory studies which developed the saving drug of Penicillin. Chain was of Russian origin, but went to German universities and came to England from Berlin in 1933. He worked here first in the Bio-Chemistry laboratory at Cambridge with Sir Frederick Gowland Hopkins, and then in the Oxford school of Pathology. In 1945, he shared with Sir Alexander Fleming and Professor Florey the Nobel Prize for Medicine, and in the following year was awarded the Pasteur Medal. Subsequently, he became Director of an international centre for Chemical Micro-biology established in Rome. Other refugees from Germany were associated with him in the research in Penicillin.

Two refugee doctors working in British Military Hospitals did outstanding and original service. Professor Josep Trueta, who had been Director of Surgery in the University of Catalonia (Barcelona), came to England from Spain at the end of the Spanish Civil War. In his native country, during the air bombardment of Barcelona, he developed a system of treating wounds and broken bones, which eliminated the use of splints, bandages and constant dressing, and minimised the danger of infection. He put on a simple gauze dressing, and sealed the limb in a plaster cast; and that was all. The results were amazing, and his 'closed plaster treatment' became the standard hospital technique. He used it at Oxford during the World War, and saved hundreds, perhaps thousands of men from amputations. He is now Nuffield Professor of Orthopaedic Surgery at Oxford University.

Doctor L. Guttmann, a Neurologist who came from Breslau as a refugee from the Hitler regime, was in charge during the war of a hospital at Stoke Mandeville in Buckinghamshire for sufferers from paralysis. He worked out a system of healing which restored the full use of their body and limbs to hundreds of men whose case was deemed hopeless. His Spinal Centre at

Aylesbury is now recognised as a national institute for the rehabilitation of both civilians and soldiers. For his war service he was decorated with the Order of the British Empire. Another neurologist exiled from Breslau, Dr E. Guttmann, joined the Emergency Medical Service and distinguished himself. He died in 1948, after his return to the Maudsley Hospital in London. Professor Mayer-Gross did similar service at Dumfries Hospital. Anna Freud, daughter of the most famous of medical psychologists, who himself was a refugee in England from 1938 until he died, rendered therapeutic service in the treatment of those suffering from shell-shock.

In more practical, that is, less academic fields of science a few German refugees made a distinctive contribution to the British war effort. Dr G. Schlesinger, for nearly thirty years Professor in the Technical University of Charlottenburg, was a master-designer of machine tools and an outstanding production engineer. In 1934 he moved from Germany to Belgium to be Professor at Brussels University. In January 1939, he came opportunely to England as Director of a Research Department of the Institute of Production Engineers, for which Lord Nuffield had provided an endowment. Throughout the war he was the head of the laboratories and of the technical staff established at Loughborough, where he remained until his death in 1950.

Dr Kurt Mendelssohn who, like Dr Schlesinger, came from the Technical Hochschule, collaborated with him in an equipment for liquifying helium.

A Professor from Vienna, Philip Gross, worked at the Fulmer Research Institute on aluminium, which was important in the production of aircraft and ship propellers. Professor E. Abel, also from Vienna, discovered a process for adapting dry batteries to the requirements of the Air Force. A group of refugee scientists working in the Daniel Sieff Institute of Palestine, under the direction of Dr Weizmann, later President of Israel, did important research in synthetic rubber and in petroleum.

Some statistics of the 600 academic scholars and scientists who were received in Great Britain, and found a place there, illustrate the value and variety of their service in the war. Two hundred and forty eight were working in the Universities and scientific Institutes; another 32 were engaged in research

outside universities; 159 in industry or in hospitals; 46 held Government posts; 23 were commissioned officers or were serving in the Forces; 17 were schoolmasters; 14 were engaged in the Broadcasting services; some 30 were not employed, and another 30 were not traced, but were probably working with the Allied Governments. Of the countries from which they came, Germany accounted for more than half (309), Austria 95, Poland 67, Czechoslovakia 57, Italy 26, France and Belgium 15, Spain 15, the Soviet Union and other countries 20.

The cumulative contribution can be appreciated from this cursory record of the groups and the individuals. The cumulative loss to the Nazi war-effort by the exile of their scientists was one of the decisive factors in the war. Amongst the German documents that came into the hands of the Allies at the end of the war was a letter from Admiral Donetz, written in 1943 to the head of the Scientific Staff of the German Admiralty, and deploring the scientific impoverishment of the Reich: "The enemy has rendered the U-boat war ineffective through superiority in the field of science. It is essential to victory that we make good in scientific warfare." But it was too late. Hitler's boast that Germany would get on for some years without the scientific brains had come home to roost.

It was a satisfaction to the refugee scientists that they could use their brains and their talents for the defence of civilisation against the common enemy of the human race, who had marked down their own race as the first victims. No parallel in history can be found to their achievement in the World War. Individual exiles in the past have transferred their allegiance, and fought against their native land, as in the classical example of Alcibiades of Athens, who fought with the Spartans. But never before had a large group of hundreds of men of science and scholarship, victims of racial, religious and political persecution, been able to use their knowledge to defend the countries which had given them refuge against the State which had driven them into exile.

Chapter VII

THE PEACE CONTRIBUTION IN ENGLAND

The world war proved the value of the refugees to the Allied cause in manifold branches of science and scholarship. The end of the war opened new opportunities for utilising the talents in England. For the need for experts, brains and for academic teachers was not diminished. The large postwar extension of British Universities, which had in a few years to double their capacity, meant that Unliversity teachers were, as the war-jargon goes, in short supply. The valuable war service of the refugees had broken down the lingering prejudices of professional bodies; and those who had found posts during the war for the most part retained them in peace, though the nature of their work might be changed. Men came back from war departments and research laboratories established for war purposes to the Universities, the Colleges and Research Institutes. The chemists, the physicists, the mathematicians, the biologists, and the masters of the various branches of the Humanities carried on as permanent members of the academic staff; and, as we have seen, they now became British subjects.

Most of the physicists and other scientists who took a part in the scientific war effort returned to their academic posts. Many have attained professorial rank. Thus Otto Frisch, after serving for a period at the Atomic Energy Research Establishment at Harwell, is Jacksonian Professor of Natural Philosophy at Cambridge; F. A. Paneth is Professor at Durham, R. E. Peierls at Birmingham, F. E. Simon at Oxford. J. Rotblat is Professor of Medical Physics at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London, turning his science to a healing purpose. H. Fröhlich, one of the theoretical physicists, had an adventurous experience. He went from Germany to Russia in 1934, but within a year the outburst of xeno-

phobia and the purge of foreigners compelled him to leave the country. He came to England by a devious journey, and was enabled to find a place of research at Bristol University. There he stayed till 1948 — with a period of internment in the crisis of 1940 — and was then appointed to a Chair in Liverpool.

Recognition of the original contribution of refugee scientists has been signally shown in recent annual elections of the Royal Society of London to its Fellowship, which is narrowly limited. The initials F. R. S. are accepted throughout the world as a hall-mark of scientific distinction. When Charles II founded it, the Royal Society emphasised the international character of the new Science. Throughout its history it has included foreign members, and its first Secretary, Oldenburg, was a foreign expatriate. Twenty-one of the present Fellows came to England as refugees from the Continent. The proportion of Fellows who were born outside the United Kingdom is increasing, as each year a few more of those who came as young men for refuge in the Thirties are elected on the strength of their contribution to knowledge.

The three Fellows elected in 1952 may be taken as typical:

1) Professor B. Katz now holds the Chair of biophysics at University College, London, formerly held by Professor A. V. Hill, whose assistant he was. (See above p. 34).
2) Dr Rudolf Lemberg is the Director of the biochemical department of the Institute of Medical Research in a Hospital in Sydney.
3) Dr Martha Vogt is a Lecturer in Pharmacology at Edinburgh University, and joined the small group of women in the Fellowship.

A list of the present Fellows who came to this country as refugees is in the Appendix. And not only these twenty-one salvaged scientists of special distinction, but many more have helped Britain to retain her place in scientific research, which is a fundamental factor in her post-war recovery, as it was in her war-effort.

Masters of Mathematics and Astronomy among the refugee scientists, if less in the public eye than the physicists and the chemists, have made a significant contribution. Several of them have been appointed to professorial Chairs in British Universities.

Kurt Mahler. Professor in Manchester, and H. A. Heilbronn in Bristol are also Fellows of the Royal Society, and Dr W. Rogosinski is Professor at Newcastle. Professor H. A. Bruck, formerly of Cambridge, is head of the Observatory at Dublin; Dr Beer is an Astronomer at Cambridge; Professor E. E. Freundlich is head of the Observatory at St Andrew's University.

Of all the classes of displaced scientists the Medical was the largest. The English academic world was quick to take its share, and several of the migrants have achieved eminence here. Dr W. S. Feldberg, from Berlin University, after spending some years at the University of Melbourne, was Reader in Physiology at Cambridge till 1949, and then was appointed head of the Division of Physiology in the National Institute for Medical Research. He is a Fellow of the Royal Society, as is one of his colleagues in the Institute, Albert Neuberger, a Biochemist. Another Fellow, Professor H. A. Krebs, holds the Chair of Biochemistry at Sheffield, and directs research for the Medical Council in Cell Metabolism. Of Chain's distinction in connection with Penicillin and of the healing talent of Dr L. Guttmann we have spoken. In the field of Psychiatry the late Eric Guttmann and Professor W. Mayer-Gross rendered valuable service in and after the war. Among the neurologists of note are Max Reiss, Erich Stengel, and Professor Alfred Meyer, who has been attached to Maudsley Hospital since 1933, and in 1950 was appointed to a Chair of Neuro-pathology at London University. Jews, a people who have suffered physically and mentally from persecution through the ages, are sensitive about mental neuroses, and have produced masters of that branch of medicine which is concerned with the healing of the mind.

Before the Nazi oppression the principal school of psychiatry was in Vienna. Now the talents are dispersed, and Britain has a share.

Another medical scientist, Philipp Ellinger, held, during the war and after it, a Fellowship at the Lister Institute, and did important work in Vitamins. In an allied field Fabius Gross, a lecturer in Zoology at Edinburgh University — interned in 1940 during the general round-up of aliens, transported to Canada, but released through the efforts of the S.P.S.L., and brought back to Britain — was the Director of an enterprise to increase by chemical fertilisers the fish population of the Scottish Lochs.

In 1949, he was appointed Director of the Marine Biological Station of the University of Wales, but died a year later.

The Irish Free State (Eire) received a number of German scientists and scholars. We have referred to the creation of the Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies, in which Professor Schrödinger was a towering intellect. Trinity College Dublin appointed a mathematician, Professor L. Hopf, who, however, died within a year of his appointment, and the Medical Research Council engaged a German bacteriologist, the late Professor Hans Sachs. Dr E. Levy, a Celtic Philologist, was Lecturer at the National University Dublin; and in Northern Ireland Professor P. P. Ewald held the Chair of Mathematical Physics in Queen's University, Belfast, till he was appointed to a Chair in America.

The contribution of refugees in Great Britain to branches of the Humanities, to Law and the Social Sciences, and to Art History is comparable with the contribution to the Natural Sciences and to Medicine. The refugee Fellows of the British Academy, a select body concerned with philosophy, history, theology. archaeology, jurisprudence, classical and oriental studies, if less numerous than the refugee Fellows of the Royal Society, are a notable group. They include Professor E. D. Fraenkel, who holds the Chair of Latin at Oxford, Dr Rudolf Pfeiffer, another classical scholar and archaeologist at Oxford, Professor Paul Kahle, the Bible and Hebrew scholar, Dr Jaroslav Cerny, Professor of Egyptology at University College, London, Dr Egon J. Wellesz, Reader in Byzantine Music at Oxford, and the late Professor F. Saxl of the Warburg Institute. Among the corresponding members from foreign countries are Francis Dvornik, an archaeologist and Professor of History at Harvard, the late E. Herzfeld, who held the Chair at Princeton of the History of art, Dr P. Jacobsthal, Reader in Celtic Archaeology at Oxford, and formerly Professor of Classical Archaeology in Marburg University, Dr Felix Jacoby, also of Oxford and formerly Professor of Classics at Kiel, and Dr P. Maas, a Master of Greek Lexicography. Another corresponding member, Professor Wilhelm Koehler, was a visiting lecturer at Harvard from 1932 to 1934, and did not return to Hitler's Germany, but remained in America and became Professor of Fine Arts at Harvard.

Another group of scholars of alien origin who have made a

contribution in Great Britain to the Humanities are those appointed Gifford Lecturers in Philosophy, in one of the four ancient Universities of Scotland. In that select gallery we find at Aberdeen the theologian Professor K. Barth, the religious philosopher Jacques Maritain, who was a refugee from France in the U.S.A. during the war, and the chemist-cum-sociologist-cum-political-philosopher, Professor Michael Polanyi of Manchester. At Edinburgh the lecturers included the late Professor Oscar Krauss, a philosopher from the German University of Prague, and the physicist Niels Bohr of Copenhagen; at St. Andrews, Professor Werner Jaeger, originally Director of the Berlin Institute of Classical Studies and now at Harvard, and Richard Kroner, religious philosopher and theologian, originally from Kiel and now at the Union Theological Seminary of New York.

Turning to another broad field of knowledge, former German Jurists and Professors of Law have enriched legal literature in England, particularly on Jurisprudence and the comparative and international aspects of Law. The German capacity for theorising and for exact research has been transplanted, and at the same time modified by an English practical colour and by the salutary discipline of having to write in the English language. The German legal scholar in his new home has had to give up his "polysyllabic and breathless sentences", and has helped to open fresh avenues. A typical example is Hermann Mannheim, who had been Professor of Criminal Law in Berlin in 1933, and became Reader in Criminology at London University. He gave a fresh impetus to the scientific treatment of delinquency in Great Britain, and founded and edited a British Journal of Delinquency. Max Grünhut, at Oxford, has been another pioneer in the same field. In the field of Roman Law the late Professor Hermann Kantorowicz was granted a Fellowship at Caius College, Cambridge, and Professor D. Daube, who was also for a time Lecturer at Cambridge, has the Chair at Aberdeen University. Professor Balogh, originally of Lithuania, who taught Comparative Law in Berlin, held a post in that subject, first in Paris and then in Johannesburg, infected Jurists from many countries with his almost fanatical enthusiasm, and inspired the foundation of an international academy of Comparative Law. The second conference of the Academy was held in London in 1950.

The field of comparative law and also of Private International Law has been intensively cultivated by a veteran Jurist from Germany, Professor Martin Wolff, who had an unequalled reputation in the University of Berlin as a teacher of German Civil Law. Having received a Research Fellowship in Oxford, he wrote a treatise on English Private International Law, which is already accepted as authoritative in the Common-Law world. He followed it, in his 80th year, with a treatise in French on Comparative Law, the first full text-book on that subject.Professor Wolff was a born teacher, and it was a loss that in England he could not teach as well as write books. A younger man, Dr Kahn-Freund, who had been Judge of an industrial court in Germany, has taught Industrial Law in the London School of Economics, and also the Conflict of Laws. In 1951 he became Professor of London University in the latter subject.

In the field of Public International Law, German Jurists have been able to make an original contribution by combining German thoroughness with the English practical approach. So Dr Georg Schwarzenberger, Reader at London University, has published a series of books — not yet completed — on the application of International Law in English foreign policy. And he is joint editor of a periodical of the Institute of World Affairs. He champions paradoxically the Positivist or Pragmatic school against the German theorising approach. Other scholars in the field who came to England, e.g. Dr Mann and Dr Frankenstein, have made important contributions to the literature.

A former Professor in Breslau, Ernst Cohn, who was in the latter stages of the war, and since the war, adviser to the Foreign Office on German Law, has edited on behalf of the Office a manual of that law. In his case and in many others the German refugee has shown a genius for rapid assimilation of English conditions. Professor W. G. Friedmann, for example, who was appointed to the Chair of Jurisprudence at Melbourne, and is now at Toronto, wrote a remarkable English book on Jurisprudence, and a few years later followed it up by a book, Law and Social Change in Contemporary Britain, which was described by Lord Justice Birkett as a "most stimulating and provocative study". The qualities which he and other displaced jurists have brought to the study of English Law are a detached contemplation, a

wide knowledge gained from the legal systems of many lands, and a strong desire to show their capacity. Having less teaching to do in the early years of their sojourn than their English academic colleagues, they had the more time and inclination for writing. In any English legal review of recent years a considerable proportion of the articles are written by those who were a few years ago aliens.

It was to be expected that refugee lawyers in England and America would have their place in the teams which prepared the prosecution of the German War Criminals. One has made a signal contribution. A former Polish Professor of Law, Raphael Lemkin, now at Duke University, North Carolina, has been the tireless protagonist, both in the prosecutions and before the organs of the United Nations, for the development of an International Criminal Law and an International Tribunal to apply it. By rare persistence he induced the International Military Tribunal, which tried at Nuremberg Goering and the other Nazi leaders, to define a novel crime of Genocide, i.e. the attempt to destroy a race or people. And later he moved the representatives of Governments to carry through the General Assembly of the United Nations a Convention defining and proscribing that crime.

Moral Philosophy, which was once the pride of German Universities, had lost its place before Nazi influences destroyed freedom of thought in Germany. But one exiled philosopher exercised an influence in Sweden, England and America. A modern polymath, and one of the encyclopaedic thinkers of the age, the late Ernst Cassirer was Lecturer at Oxford, and Professor in turn at Gotenburg, Yale and Columbia University. His "Essay on Man" and "The Myth of the State" were written and published in English. Professor Martin Buber, of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, has developed his ethical doctrines based on the communion of man with his neighbours, and influenced British educational and religious thought. And at the other — the sceptical — end of the scale, Professor K. R. Popper, first in New Zealand, where he left a great reputation as a teacher, and now at the London School of Economics, and Dr F. Weismann at the University of Oxford, are leaders of the school of logical positivism.

Theology, which was also a traditional excellence of German Universities, particularly in Marburg and Giessen, has been en-

riched by German exiled brains in countries where thought is free. Switzerland and the United States have been the principal beneficiaries. The German Evangelical Church before Hitler was in close relation with the Swiss, and it was natural that two masters of Protestant theology, Karl Barth and Karl Schmidt, found a home in neighbouring Basel when they left Germany. Barth was indeed born in Basel. America received Paul Tillich, who holds the Chair of Philosophy and Theology in the Union Theological Seminary of New York. Jewish theology and Rabbinical learning, likewise, moved their home from the German Hochschulen to Jewish Seminaries in America and to the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Oriental Scholarship and Archaeology were other specialities of the Germans; and British — and not less American — colleges have been enriched by the engagement of some of their expert minds. The Chair of Chinese at Cambridge is held by Professor G. Haloun, and at London University by Professor W. Simon, the Chair of Central Asian Studies at London University by Professor W. B. Henning, the Chair of Turkish by Professor P. Wittek. In 1933 Wittek, originally from Vienna, was Director of the German Institute of Archaeology at Istanbul, and was one of the few "Aryan" scholars who refused to bow the knee to the Nazi Baal, and to break off his relations with Jewish scholars. He resigned his post, left Turkey, and found a first refuge from 1934 in Belgium as a Lecturer at Brussels University. While engaged on research in England in 1939, he was fortunately marooned there throughout the war, and worked at the School of Oriental Studies of London University. At Oxford Dr J. Schacht, who during the war did good service in Arabic Broadcasting from England, is reader in Islamic Studies. At Cambridge Dr David Diringer is lecturer in Semitic Epigraphy and has popularised knowledge about the origin of the Alphabet. Dr Betty Heimann, a woman orientalist, organised the Sanscrit Department of the young University of Ceylon. At London University the Chair of Egyptology is held by a Czech, Jaroslav Cerny; and the Chair of Environmental Archaeology by F. E. Zeuner, originally a geologist. In the University of Toronto the head of the Department of Art and Archaeology is Professor P. Brieger, formerly of Breslau.

Classical Scholarship has been for generations an excellence of Oxford and Cambridge; and it was a remarkable example of academic liberality that, when the Chair of Latin at Oxford fell vacant in 1935, Professor E. Fraenkel, a recent exile from Germany was appointed to it. He has since enriched classical literature by a monumental edition in English of the Agamemnon of Aeschylus. In the Oxford classical school, too, a place was found for Professor R. Pfeiffer, F. B. A. while Dr P. Jacobsthal, formerly a classical archaeologist, was appointed Reader in Celtic Archaeology at Oxford.

Sociology, which might appear to be essentially a national matter, has been greatly developed in England and in the English tongue by refugees from the continent. The late Karl Mannheim, who became a Professor of London University, exercised a remarkable influence. He impressed progressive Christian thought, and his "Planning for Freedom" is a standard book in the Western democracies. He championed the idea of the Third Way between Laisser-Faire Democracy and the Totalitarian State. The International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction, edited by him and published in England, includes books by refugee scholars: e.g. "Fear of Freedom" by Eric Fromm, "Soviet Legal Theory" by Rudolf Schlesinger, "Democracy, Political Representation and the Electoral System" by Gerhard Leibholz.

Michael Polanyi, who first held a Chair of Physical Chemistry at Manchester, in 1948 passed to the Chair of Social Studies, because he thought that the world at this period was in greater need of social thinkers than of chemists. Among his writings in his new field are "Contempt of Freedom", and "The Russian Experiment and After". Like Mannheim, he is from his own hard experience alert against the threat of totalitarian intellectual tyranny, and he calls for an unflinching stand for truth against propaganda.

Another refugee sociologist to make a distinctive contribution was the late R. Kuczynski, whose subject was Demography. He was Reader in that subject at the London School of Economics, and during the war wrote a survey op the Empire peoples. Two displaced teachers from Germany gave a great impulse to Russian studies at British Universities: Rudolf Schlesinger at Glasgow, and Alexander Baykov at Birmingham. Baykov heads the section

of Russian Economic Studies, and edits publications concerning the economic development of the Soviet Union.

The Oxford Institute of Statistics, which had an important part in working out during the war details of the scheme of National Insurance prepared by Lord Beveridge, and known as the Beveridge Plan, included a number of economists from abroad. It was fitting that Beveridge should find assistance from those who had been rescued for scientific work by his own initiative.

Of many historians among the displaced scholars we may mention the late Professor Veit Valentin, who was a master of Modern History; and Professor Momigliano from Turin, who has a Chair of Ancient History at London University. Two Germans who specialised in the history of British Socialism, the late Professor G. Mayer and the late Dr M. Beer, produced standard works on the subject.

A remarkable contribution to English school-life and educational practice has been made by Kurt Hahn, who, before Hitler's regime, had been the head of a boys' boarding-school at Salem in Baden. That school was celebrated for its physical prowess. Displaced from Germany he established a school on the Scottish coast, which vies with any English public school in its emphasis on the training of character and manly sport. It has come to be recognised as an original and valuable educational experiment; and amongst its former pupils is the Duke of Edinburgh. It has created a small progeny of 'outward-bound' schools, which aim to give their pupils a sense of adventure and achievement. In this field again the refugee has been able to give a fresh direction to English experiment, though the lead in practical achievement of character training had hitherto been held by British Schools.

While the overwhelming majority of the former Germans became British or American subjects at the end of the war, and renounced their connection with their native land, a few felt the call to help regenerate and reform the German people, and restore them to mental and moral sanity after the Nazi plague. George Misch, who held the Chair of Philosophy in Goettingen till 1936, and was in England throughout the war, returned to Goettingen in 1946. An atomic physicist, F. C. Heutermanns, who had taken refuge in Soviet Russia, and was interned there on a stock charge of espionage, was appointed after the war to

the same German University. Another former Professor of Goettingen, the lawyer G. Leibholz, returned in 1945, when the University was re-opened, to lecture to German students, but did not stay. So, too, Professor F. Pringsheim, who held a Chair of Law at Freiburg till 1935, returned from Oxford to that University to lecture in 1946, and has continued to lecture there during a part of each year. Another legal Professor, R. von Laun, who at the time of the Nazi purge was Judge at the Hamburg Supreme Court, went back to Hamburg as Dean of the Law School. Professor F. Siegmund-Schultze, who before the war was Chairman of the pacifist Fellowship of Reconciliation in Germany, and Secretary of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches, having been a refugee in Switzerland through the war, went to Munster to direct an Institute of Pedagogy. Dr K. Winter, Deputy Mayor of Vienna till 1937, and during the war a teacher at the New School for Social Research in New York, returned to Vienna in 1946, to a Chair at the University.

A Society for "German Education Reconstruction" was founded in England during the war in 1942, with the aim of helping refugee teachers and social workers from Germany to prepare for the tasks of regeneration in Germany after the defeat of Nazism. Werner Milch, one of the original guiding spirits of the society, and among its most active workers, lectured during the war in English colleges. Returning in 1946 to Germany to aid in reforming German education, he was appointed to a Chair at Marburg; and the repatriated German prisoners-of-war, to whom he had lectured in camps in England and Scotland, flocked to the University to become his students. He died there in 1950.

It was a piece of retributive justice that former German academic teachers, who had become English University teachers, should have a directing part in the enterprise for re-education of German Prisoners-of-War working in England, and for the later development of re-education of German civilians brought to England. That enterprise, established by the Foreign Office at Wilton Park, Buckinghamshire, was directed by Dr Koppler, an Oxford history teacher, who came to England originally from Germany; and his staff included Dr Demuth, one of the founders of the "Notgemeinschaft" (see p. 17), and half-a-dozen other

German academic refugees. It carried on its work for the German Prisoners-of-War till their final repatriation in 1948. After that it maintained a continuous activity for a smaller number of German Government officials, teachers, Trade-Union leaders, social workers, journalists, and the like, who came to England for short courses, and were shown the English way of life and English institutions. The school — which has been removed to another place — was, and is, one of the few bridges between the old German liberal culture, preserved by a section of the exiles, and a new German culture which the Western Allies sought to foster in the young generation emerging out of the chaos and despair.

The history of the Fine Arts, painting, architecture and music, has been another special interest which refugee scholars from Germany and Austria have greatly developed in England. In the past it was little studied in British universities. In addition to the remarkable collective contribution of the Warburg Institute in London to the knowledge and understanding of art, individual refugees in academic posts have exercised a great influence in recent years in spreading knowledge of architecture and of painting. Professor Nikolaus Pevsner, who holds the Slade Chair of Fine Arts at Cambridge, is engaged in writing a history of the buildings of England, which is designed to give the common man an understanding of the beauties of his towns and villages and the country-houses throughout the land. His books, included in the popular Penguin library, sparkle with a wealth of ideas and illuminate social history from architecture. Originally a professor of Goettingen University in Germany, he reveals to the British people the architectural treasures as well as the blemishes and defacement of their towns and countryside. In the Coronation Honours 1953, he was made a Commander of the Order of the British Empire.

Professor Gombrich, originally from Vienna, holds the Slade Chair at Oxford. His popular book on the History of Art is published by another refugee from Austria, Dr B. Horovitz, who, through the Phaidon Press, transferred from Vienna, makes available to a large public art-books on the great masters of painting and sculpture. Sir Kenneth Clark has described that publishing house as one of the civilising influences of the time.

Other art historians among the refugees have enlarged the

knowledge of the Art treasures in this country. Johannes Wilde, formerly Curator of an Art Museum in Vienna, was appointed to the Courtauld Institute of Art in London, and drew up a catalogue of Michael Angelo's paintings and drawings in the British Museum. He and a Belgian war exile, H. Puiveld, made a study of the King's pictures at Windsor Castle. William Cohn, formerly Curator of the Berlin City Museum, has been engaged since 1933, in research into the art of India and the Far East, and is in charge of the Museum of Eastern Art at the Ashmolean at Oxford.

The contribution of refugees to the creation, execution and interpretation of music is not less remarkable. The most famous, perhaps, of the musical exiles, the composer Arnold Schonberg, went to America and was appointed to the Chair of Music at the University of California. He died there in 1951. English Universities have had their share of the exiled talents. Oxford appointed to a Readership Dr E. Wellesz, the greatest living authority on Byzantine Music and on the origins of the Christian Church chants. It gave a place also to Dr E. H. Meyer, who, during the war, wrote in England a book on Early English Chamber Music. Returning after the war to Berlin, he became Professor of the Sociology of Music in Berlin University. Cambridge gave a temporary home to O. E. Deutsch, former Librarian of Music in Vienna, and the acknowledged authority on Schubert; and also to a Spanish exile, Roberto Gerhard, who composed in England a Comic Opera on the theme of Sheridan's Duenna. Edinburgh University established a lectureship for Hans Gal, who had been Director of Opera in Vienna, and in his new home arranged Mozart's Opera, "Idomeneo", for the Musical Festival of Edinburgh and for the Glyndebourne performances. The Guildhall School of Music in London appointed to a Chair the violinist Max Rostal, who has won here a great reputation as a teacher.

The part which the art scholars and the musical scholars from Europe play in the Third high-brow Programme of the British Broadcasting, the programme which is directed to the Intelligentzia, is remarkable. Though it is not within the scope of this study to recall the contribution made by displaced artists who were not strictly academic persons, a few words may be said of the invigorating influence exercised on music in Great

Britain by the reception of refugee singers, instrumental players and conductors from Germany and Austria. England's music has for centuries owed much to outside importations, from the time she welcomed Haydn and Handel. During the last twenty years the debt and the offering have been particularly great. The notable achievements of Opera both at Glyndebourne and Edinburgh have been due in great part to the direction of Carl Ebert, Robert Bing and Fritz Busch. Ebert, the producer of Operas, was for a time Head of the Musical Conservatoire at Ankara after he was driven from Germany, and is now in the United States. So he has had a part in revivifying music in three countries.

The primacy of Germany in certain branches of science, in mathematics and abstract thought, Oriental Philology and Art History, seems to have passed definitely to other countries which have received the stones the Germans rejected. In some countries those stones have become corner-stones. The dissemination of German 'method' to many lands and its application to the needs of other peoples may prove to be an intangible compensation for the destructive nihilism of the Nazis. In particular, the release of atomic energy is being pursued by refugee scientists — among others — for peaceful purposes, and that energy may become a source of power that will provide means hitherto undreamt of for the wellbeing of all mankind, including its majority of the under-privileged races.

The impact of physics has been more profound in recent years than the impact of philosophy. Man's control of Nature and of the elements, increased by leaps and bounds in the pressure of war, has not been matched by his control over his own passions. The ethical thinkers fleeing from Nazi oppression, who found a new home in free countries, have not exercised an influence on thought comparable with that of the natural philosophers. But the story of the rescue of learning and science from totalitarian tyranny is unfinished. The younger generation of refugee teachers has taken fresh root in free lands, and has been reared in a free atmosphere. It may yet display its finest flower as the German thoroughness is fertilised by contact with the Anglo-Saxon practical genius. The whole history of British civilisation has illustrated the development of thought and art by a mingling of races.

The historical law — which Arnold Toynbee has illustrated so massively — of challenge and response on the part of the individual and of the national group, is exemplified in the record of the thousands of teachers and students who were forced by persecution and the denial of intellectual freedom in their native land to restart life in a strange but free climate. The record has manifested also the lesson that man's humanity to man can match man's inhumanity to man. Great Britain, in particular, has been rewarded for her loyalty to the tradition of refuge for the persecuted and of the open door for scholars and scientists. That loyalty has helped her, in the last two decades, to keep her eminence in scientific research.

England, from the dawn of her history, has built up her culture by the admission of groups of teachers, craftsmen and artists from the continent of Europe. The asylum she has given to the academic refugees from persecution during the last twenty years is a signal example of a continuing process; and the full harvest of her generosity has still to be reaped. Many young men and women who came to Britain as boys and girls are now winning places in academic life. The harvest may be richer than that which was given by the Huguenot refugees whom she received in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For the migration has been larger in numbers, and has had a greater element of learning and science and intellectual attainment.

The German and the other exiled scholars have been a kind of pollen borne by the wind to many countries to be a fertilising force. Professor Toynbee has observed that some of the spiritual revolutions in the progress of humanity have been brought about by men who were exiled and gained a deeper understanding by suffering. A signal example is the teaching of the Hebrew Prophets who returned from the Babylonian exile. In the last century a social revolution was inspired by the doctrines of a refugee of Jewish origin from Germany, Karl Marx, who wrote in London books which had, and still have, a potent influence upon the peoples of two continents. The displaced scholars from Nazi Europe have not yet thrown up any spiritual leaders for our distracted world. They or their descendants may still make that the most precious gift of the reception.

EPILOGUE

by

Professor A. V. Hill, F.R.S.

In December 1938 a leading article appeared in "Nature" describing — better than anything I could write today — the needs of "Science and Learning in Distress", and the motives of those engaged in rescue at that critical time. It brings back vividly the emergency of those days, and the efforts being made to meet it; and with the permission of the Editors it is reprinted here in full.

"In the early summer of 1933, the Academic Assistance Council was founded, under the presidency of Lord Rutherford and with the active support of many distinguished men of science and other scholars, to find places in the fabric of world science and world scholarship for men and women driven from their countries and their work for racial, religious or political reasons. Such persecution was not new, even in the very recent past: it had happened again and again in Russia and was still happening: but the scale of its application in Germany and the distinction of its victims demanded immediate help. The Academic Assistance Council had no partisan, political or national bias. Indiscriminate relief was to be no part of its work. Its purpose was to act as a link between the scientific workers and other scholars displaced and the universities and research institutions of the world, so that their exceptional abilities exceptionally trained — to quote the noble declaration of the Council's founders — should not be lost.

"It was hoped that the emergency would pass, but as the years went on, intolerance and persecution grew; no end was in sight.

The Academic Assistance Council took permanent shape therefore as the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning: its wider purpose was now to act as a clearing house of information and advice to exiled scholars, and to persons, institutions and departments desiring to help them; its narrower purpose — within the limits of its resources — to offer temporary maintenance grants and other aids to re-establishment. The spread of "racial" doctrine to Italy, the consequences in Austria and Czechoslovakia of the political events of 1938 and their reactions in neighbouring countries, the continuation of civil war in Spain, the extreme xenophobia of the U.S.S.R., and recent events in Germany, all these have added to the need for information and advice on one hand, for direct assistance on the other. When a ship is in distress no sailor, and few landsmen, will not want to go to its help.

"The Society has just issued its annual report, from which it appears that a widespread appeal is shortly to be issued: for funds on one hand; for interest and sympathy, through membership, on the other. The problem has been complicated and enlarged by the events of 1938, but the Society has not turned aside from its original purpose and principles. It exists, not to advertise a particular point of view, but to do an honest job of work in seeing that ability and experience in science and scholarship are not wasted. It does not, it cannot, disregard human values; but its charity is devoted to those who can contribute to the common stock of learning. It stands for the brotherhood of scientific endeavour, regardless of race and creed and politics: and it stands for it , not by passing pious resolutions or by putting out disguised political propaganda, but by trying to help colleagues in their need. Foreign scientific workers are found work which restores their self-respect and makes others realize their value in their common task; so that, not seldom, they became self-supporting. From the start, however, the Society has done its best to avoid any unfair competition of exiled scientific workers and other scholars with those in the countries where they are seeking refuge, and has realized, and urged, that in the long run such competition is as little in the interest of the exiles as in that of scientific workers as a whole.

"The Society must maintain its authority and integrity in the face of its increasing task. In Germany alone, fourteen hundred

university teachers and research workers have been displaced, many of them among the most distinguished in the world; not merely debarred from teaching and research, they are not allowed to make a living at all. More than four hundred Austrian men of science and other students have been displaced, and of these only about a hundred have been able to leave the country. The full effects of the "racial" policy in Italy and of the partition of Czechoslovakia have yet to be felt; Spain, from which scholars of both parties have been helped, is still no place for tolerant, sensitive academic people; and the U.S.S.R. has disappointed our hopes by turning out those who originally found work and refuge there.

"Caution in the circumstances must often seem intolerable to humane men, but the Society's stringent caution in accepting responsibility bears fruit. Work has been found permanently for about 550 scholars in thirty-eight different countries, from Austria to Venezuela; for about 330 temporarily in twenty-five countries. Turkey, which is building a new civilization, has welcomed numbers of the displaced university men.

"In November 1937, the Society called an informal conference at Oxford of representatives of European universities, and the ideal of an international exchange for information and employment came nearer to realization. The Society's register of exiled scholars is now unique, authoritative and international. Any academic or research institution can have the benefit of its records of those "exceptional abilities exceptionally trained". lost to their own countries, but not, if the Society can prevent it, to the service of knowledge anywhere else in the world.

"Funds and interest are, however, an imperative need: first, for the work of administration, information and advice; secondly for direct help in human emergency. It is to be hoped that the wider educated public, particularly in the English-speaking countries, will respond generously to the appeal for support which the Society is making, and come to the help of science and learning in distress."

Professor Bentwich in the foregoing Chapters describes in detail the operations of rescue and salvage by which so much has been preserved of what might otherwise have been irretriev-

ably lost. As he shows, in human values as well as in science and learning themselves, the return has been immeasurably greater than the effort spent: and those of us who took any part in it are moved with humility as well as pride when a friend, sometimes an eminent friend, reminds us how we got him out of goal, or rendered him some other minor service which he has not forgotten, but we have. It is well that this story should be put on record, partly that men may see how much was retrieved from the disaster that overwhelmed research and scholarship in Europe after 1933, partly that the universal brotherhood of science and learning may be made plain, and partly that people may know better what to do, and why, if the emergency occurs again. Tolerance and intellectual freedom cannot be established once for all in human society, but demand continual watchfulness and effort. The preceding chapters show how richly the effort can be rewarded, but emphasize how necessary it is for the watch to remain alert.

Appendix A

REFUGEE FELLOWS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY (F.R.S.)

Born, Professor Max. (1939). Tait Professor of Natural Philosophy, University of Edinburgh.

Chain, Dr Ernst Boris. (1949). Scientific Director, International Centre of Microbiology, Rome; and Chairman, Experts Committee on Antibiotics. World Health Organisation. Formerly Lecturer in Biochemistry, Oxford University. Shared Nobel Prize with Sir Alexander Fleming and Sir Howard Florey for the discovery of Penicillin.

Feldberg, Dr Wilhelm Siegmund. (1947). In charge of Division of Physiology and Pharmacology, National Institute of Medical Research.

Frisch, Professor Otto Robert. (1948). Jacksonian Professor of Natural Philosophy. University of Cambridge.

Fröhlich, Professor Herbert. (1951). Professor of Theoretical Physics, University of Liverpool.

Heilbronn, Professor Hans Arnold. (1951). H.O. Wills Professor of Pure Mathematics. University of Bristol.

Heitler, Professor Walter H. (1948). Professor of Theoretical Physics, Zürich University. Previously Professor at Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Katz, Professor Bernard. (1952). Professor of Biophysics, London University.

Krebs, Professor Hans Adolf. (1947). Professor of Biochemistry, Sheffield University.

Lemberg, Dr Rudolf. (1952). Director of the Biochemical Department of the Institute of Medical Research, Sydney.

Mahler, Dr Kurt. (1948). Reader in Pure Mathematics, Manchester University.

Mendelssohn, Dr Kurt S. (1951). Lecturer in Physics, Oxford University.

Neuberger, Dr Albert. (1951). Biochemist, National Institute of Medical Research, London.

Orowan, Professor Egon. (1947). Professor of Mechanical Engineering, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass.; Formerly Reader in Physics of Metals, Cambridge University.

Paneth, Professor Fritz Adolf. (1947). Professor of Chemistry, Durham University.

Peierls, Professor Rudolf E. (1945). C.B.E., Professor of Mathematical Physics, Birmingham University.

Polanyi, Professor Michael. (1944). Professor of Social Studies, Manchester University.
Schrodinger, Professor Erwin. (1949: Foreign Member). Senior Professor at the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford 1933–38. Nobel prize in Physics 1933.
Simon, Professor Franz Eugen. (1941). C.B.E., Professor of Thermodynamics, Oxford University. Awarded Rumford Medal of the Royal Society 1948.
Vogt, Dr Martha (1952). Lecturer in Pharmacology, Edinburgh University.

Appendix B

REFUGEE FELLOWS OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY (F.B.A.)

Fraenkel Professor Eduard D. M. (1941). Corpus Christi Professor of Latin, Oxford University.
Saxl, Professor Fritz. (1944). Director of the Warburg Institute, University of London. (Died March 1948).
Pfeiffer, Dr Rudolf C. F. O. (1949). Senior Lecturer in Classical Scholarship, Oxford University.
Kahle, Professor Paul E. (1948). Formerly Professor at Bonn University. Retired.
Cerny, Professor Jaroslav. (1953). Professor of Egyptology at University College, London.
Wellesz, Dr Egon J. (1953). University reader in Byzantine Music, Oxford University.

CORRESPONDING FELLOWS OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY

Dvornik, Professor Francis. (1947). Professor of History, Harvard University.
Herzberg, Professor Ernst E. (1947). Professor of Archaeology, Princeton (deceased).
Jacobsthal, Dr P. (1936). Reader in Celtic Archaeology, Oxford University.
Jacoby, Dr Felix. (1945). Private research at Oxford, with financial support from the University.
Maas, Dr Paul. (1941). Private research at Oxford in Greek Lexicography.

Appendix C

PROFESSORS IN BRITISH UNIVERSITIES

Born, Max, F.R.S. (Theoretical Physics). Tait Professor of Natural Philosophy, Edinburgh.
Brieger, Peter. (Art History). Professor of Art and Archaeology, University of Toronto, Canada.
Brink, Carl Oscar. (Classics). Professor of Latin, Liverpool.

Bruck, Hermann A. (Physics). Senior Professor of Astronomy, School of Cosmic Physics, Dublin.

Cerny, Jaroslav F.B.A. (Archaeology). Edwards Professor of Egyptology, University College, London.

Daube, David. (Law). Professor of Roman Law, Aberdeen University.

Ewald, P. P. (Physics). Formerly Professor of Mathematical Physics, Belfast; now at Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, N.Y.

Fraenkel, Eduard D. M., F.B.A., (Classics). Corpus Christi Professor of Latin, Oxford University.

Freundlich, Erwin Finlay. (Physics). Professor of Astronomy, St. Andrews.

Frisch, Otto Robert, O.B.E., F.R.S. (Physics). Jacksonian Professor of Natural Philosophy, Cambridge.

Froehlich, Herbert, F.R.S. (Physics). Professor of Theoretical Physics, Liverpool University.

Gombrich, Ernst H. (Art History). Slade Professor of Fine Art, Oxford.

Haloun, Gustav. (Oriental Languages). Professor of Chinese, Cambridge.

Heilbronn, Hans A., F.R.S., Professor of Pure Mathematics, Bristol.

Heimann, Betty. (Oriental Languages). First Professor of Sanskrit, University of Colombo, Ceylon. (Retired).

Heitler, Walter, F.R.S. (Physics). Professor at the Institute for Advanced Studies, Dublin; now Professor at Zurich University.

Heller, Erich. (German). Professor of German, Swansea.

Heller, Johann Sigismund. (Pharmacology). Professor of Pharmacology, Bristol.

Kahn-Freund, Otto, Professor of Law, London University.

Katz, Bernard. (Physiology). Professor of Biophysics, University College, London.

Klibansky, Raymond. (Philosophy). Professor of Philosophy, McGill University, Montreal, Canada.

Krebs, Hans Adolf, F.R.S. (Biochemistry). Professor of Biochemistry, Sheffield.

Loewestein, Otto. (Zoology). Professor at Birmingham University.

Meyer, Alfred. (Neurology). Professor at London University (Maudsley Hospital).

Momigliano A. (History). Professor at London University.

Paneth F. A., F.R.S. (Chemistry). Professor of Chemistry, Durham University.

Peierls, Rudolf E., C.B.E., F.R.S. (Physics). Professor of Mathematical Physics, Birmingham University.

Pevsner, Nikolaus, C.B.E. (Art History). Slade Professor of Fine Art, Cambridge.

Polanyi, Michael, F.R.S. (Sociology). Professor of Social Studies, Manchester University.

Pollak, Leo Wenzel. (Physics). Professor of Physics, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (School of Cosmic Physics).

Popper, Karl R. (Philosophy). Professor of Logic, London School of Economics.

Rogosinsky, Werner W. (Mathematics). Professor of Pure Mathematics, King's College, Newcastle.

ROSTAL, MAX. (Music). Professor of Music, Guildhall School of Music. London.

ROTBLAT, JOSEPH. (Physics). Professor of Physics, St. Bartholomew's Hospital Medical College, London.

SANDMANN, MANFRED. (Romance Philology). Professor of Romance Languages, University College of the West Indies, Jamaica.

SIMON, FRANZ EUGEN, C.B.E., F.R.S. (Physics). Professor of Thermodynamics, Oxford University.

SIMON, WALTER. (Oriental Languages). Professor of Chinese, London School of Oriental and African Studies.

SKUTSCH, OTTO. (Classics). Professor of Latin, University College, London.

TRUETA, JOSEP. (Surgery). Nuffield Professor of Orthopaedic Surgery, Oxford University.

WILDE, JOHANNES. (Art History). Professor, London University and Deputy Director, Courtauld Institute.

WITTEK, PAUL. (Oriental Languages). Professor of Turkish, London School of Oriental and African Studies.

WITTKOWER, RUDOLF. (Art History). Durning-Lawrence Professor of History of Art, University College, London.

ZEUNER, FREDERICK EVERARD. (Geology). Professor of Environmental Archaeology, London University (Inst. of Archaeology).

Professors who died

HEYMANN, ERICH, D.Sc., Assoc. Professor of Physical Chemistry, University of Melbourne.

MANNHEIM, KARL (Sociology). Professor and Director, Institute of Education, London University.

RICHTER, LOTHAR, Professor of German at Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

SAXL, FRITZ, F.B.A. (Art History). Director, Warburg Institute, and Professor, London University.

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